NEWS for League Members

1954 Conference Set for Kansas City

Kansas City, Missouri, will be the site of the 60th National Conference on Government next fall, it has been announced by the National Municipal League. The Conference is slated for November 7, 8, 9 and 10.

John B. Gage

In announcing the selection of Kansas City, League President George H. Gallup said the Executive Committee was accepting an invitation which had been tendered jointly by John B. Gage, former Kansas City mayor and currently regional vice president of the League, and Clinton W. Kanaga, Jr., president of the Citizens Association of Kansas City, at the annual membership meeting during the Richmond Conference last November.

The Executive Committee also gave serious consideration to an invitation from Phoenix, Arizona, which was presented by a delegation from that city led by Mayor Hohen Foster.

Kansas City was the winner of two All-America City Awards—in 1950 and 1951—in recognition of its citizens' successful efforts to maintain clean nonpartisan government and to rehabilitate areas inundated by flood waters.

Survey Committee Continues Reappraisal

The Survey Committee, created at the Richmond meeting of the NML Council last November to review suggestions in the McLean report and recommend appropriate action to the spring Council meeting, has held three more all-day Saturday meetings since its initial session January 9.

The Committee has reviewed staff reports on various aspects of League policy and procedure and has consulted a number of other persons.

The League's constitution has been given a thorough going-over and a proposed revision, based on experience since the present document was adopted in 1932, probably will be submitted to the Council along with other Committee recommendations.

League Awarded Honor Medal

The George Washington Honor Medal will be awarded in the near future to the National Municipal League for its "All-America Cities" program in which the League honors eleven communities annually for progress achieved through intelligent citizen action.

Freedoms Foundation, donor of the honor medal, termed the "All-America Cities" program "an outstanding achievement in helping to bring about a better understanding of the American way of life."

Look magazine, co-sponsor of the program, was similarly honored by the Foundation.

Peoria's Shrine Mosque Auditorium during the All-America Cities Award Presentation February 5.

All-America Cities Receive Awards

Local pride hit new highs with the presentation in recent weeks of All-America City Awards in eleven winning communities. Top honor cities in the 1953 contest, sponsored by the National Municipal League and *Look* magazine, accepted the national recognition given to their local citizen efforts with elaborate ceremonies which attracted wide attention.

Nation-wide publicity brought news of the winners to radio listeners and television viewers all over the country. Associated and United Press and International News Service wires put the 1953 contest into many news columns, and regional wire services made impressive showings in the press of six middle western and eastern states.

Peoria, Illinois, one of the larger winning cities, was responsible for a good share of the country-wide publicity on radio and TV, thanks to comedians Fibber McGee and Molly and sports commentator Jack Brickhouse, all loyal Peorians. Don McNeill's morning breakfast club show, originating in Chicago, featured interviews with residents of Park Forest, another winning community.

Look, printing the story in its February 9 issue, reported record sales in the winning areas, while both the League and the magazine have received orders for reprints running into the thousands.

Peoria's Award was presented by George Gallup, League president and director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, to Mayor Robert D. Morgan at capacity-filled Shrine Mosque Auditorium on February 5. Jack Star,

midwest editor of *Look* and writer of the magazine's story, and Fred Bauer represented the magazine at the ceremonies. The entire Peoria city council was present.

Petersburg, Virginia, received its award on February 5 from Ed. P. Phillips, regional vice president of the League, and Mrs. Jane Douglas, of *Look*, who presented it to Mayor Churchill Dunn at the country club. A large delegation from Richmond turned out for the occasion and that city's *Times-Dispatch* gave the event thorough coverage. The Petersburg *Progress-Index* put out a 28-page special edition marking the Award.

In Canton, Ohio, Mayor Carl F. Wise received the Award on February 11 from E. D. Dodd, League Council member of Toledo. Participating in the ceremonies at Timken High School Auditorium were Dr. L. R. Elson, pastor of the National Presbyterian Church in Washington, D. C. (known as "President Eisenhower's pastor"), Martin Frank, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce public relations committee, and Jean Herrick, assistant to *Look's* general manager. Governor Frank Lausche of Ohio was present at the event, which featured music by an all-star high school band.

On January 31 at Flint, Michigan, Rev. Henry Berkemeier received the Award from Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, League regional vice president. Vernon C. Myers, publisher, represented *Look*. Main speaker was Arthur S. Flemming, national director, Office of Defense Mobilization. Co-recipient of the award was M. F. Borgman, general chairman of "Operation Tornado," Flint's historic building bee. The celebration took place in the Industrial Mutual Association Auditorium with 1,500 present.

(Continued on next page)

Winners in Shreveport display their new flag — left to right, William A. Peavy, co-chairman of the survey committee; Mrs. Elsie Larson Wilson, director of the Council of Social Agencies; Mayor Clyde E. Fant; Thomas A. Wimberly, president of the Chamber of Commerce; and Harold J. Bryant, general manager of the Chamber.

All-America Cities

(Continued from preceding page)

At Park Forest, Illinois, Herbert Emmerich, former Council member of the League, and Jack Star presented the award to Lester B. VandeBerg, president of the permanent Rich Township High School Committee, in the school gymnasium on January 29. Over 100 people attended the special dinner, which was followed by a concert of the Mexican Boys Choir. Park Forest received a commendatory letter from Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, U. S. secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Scranton, Pennsylvania, received its Award on February 9. It was presented by Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Executive Committee, to Ted V. Rodgers, Sr., president of the Chamber of Commerce. The ceremony, which followed a parade through the city, was held in the Masonic Temple before an audience of 900 at the annual Chamber of Commerce dinner. Ceremonies were televised over WARM-TV, Scranton's new television station.

On January 31 Daytona Beach, Florida, held its celebration. The award was presented by Laurence F. Lee, chairman of the board, U. S. Chamber of Commerce, to Mayor Jack Tamm in the Peabody Auditorium. A concert by the Daytona Beach Symphony Orchestra and singing by a Negro group from Bethune-Cookman College were features of the event. The local program listed the All-America Cities jury, the winning team and the runners-up.

Lee Sharrar, Council member of the League in Houston, presented the Award to Mayor Clyde E. Fant, of Shreveport, Louisiana, at a ceremony on February 2. The program preceded dinner in the Crystal Ballroom of the Washington-Youree Hotel and special arrangements were made in the Booker T. Washington High School for Ne-

(Continued on page 168)

League President George H. Gallup presents "All-America Cities" Award to Peoria's Mayor Robert D. Morgan. Eight Peoria councilmen also participated in receiving the award.

National Municipal Review

Volume XLIII, No. 3 **Total Number 441**

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for March 1954

NEWS FOR LEAGUE MEMBERS 113

EDITORIAL COMMENT 118

FILIPINOS HOLD FREE ELECTION ..... *Harold F. Gosnell* 120

HOW CAN VOTERS UNDERSTAND? ..... *Roger A. Freeman* 123

LAWMAKERS TAKE INITIATIVE ..... *William C. Havard* 130

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION ..... *H. M. Olmsted* 134

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP ..... *Edward W. Weidner* 141

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ..... *George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 146

TAXATION AND FINANCE ..... *Wade S. Smith* 148

CITIZEN ACTION ..... *Elsie S. Parker* 151

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST ..... *John E. Bebout* 156

BOOKS IN REVIEW 161

The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in *International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, 299 Broadway, New York 7. Copyright 1954 by the National Municipal League.

Subscription, $5 per year; Canadian, $5.25; foreign, $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

Editorial Comment

The English Are Tougher

IN the *Model City Charter* all the powers of the city are located in the city council and the council is carefully required to do its work as a unit, expressing composite representation and composite judgment and eliminating all one-man power and individual caprice. But councilmen who have been accustomed under prior structural regimes to help manage departments as commissioners or as committee members oftentimes continue their intervention into departmental management to the distress of the manager and the impairment of his proper authority. Tactfully combatting such intervention and persuading councilmen to exert their proper powers only through channels is a problem of some city managers.

In England, councils are large and committees of council practically run departments. It would seem reasonable enough, therefore, that a councilman might ask the town clerk to explain his authority for carrying out certain work. Such an inquiry, reported in the *Municipal Journal* (London), did not carry with it any direction or intervention but, according to the *Journal*, it provoked a sharp reply in which the clerk said, "I cannot accept the principle that I need account to anyone other than the city council, or in certain cases a committee of the city council, for the action I take on behalf of the city council."

The conflict was referred to a special committee of council which reported that "the town clerk's responsibility, like that of all other officers, was to the city council and not to an individual member."

Municipal Journal editorializes, "We think the town clerk in this case dealt with the matter with correctness . . . and express the hope that in the interest of proper local government others will follow his example."

In the United States, a city manager would undoubtedly find nothing to object to, but the English are tighter in the restriction of councils and administrators to their respective spheres.

Lobbying in New Hampshire

THE fact that the Rockingham Race Track supported the private free bar room that has been operating in a room at the Eagle Hotel [Concord] during the past several years during legislative sessions has been admitted publicly.

The spokesman for the race track stated the group wanted to withdraw from this activity but that pressure had been brought to bear on it and it had continued their support. What the pressure was was not disclosed, but it must be obvious to anyone that the pressure, in order to be effective, must have originated with members of the General Court [legislature].

Only pressure that was directly connected with the right to vote on legislation that would affect racing could be strong enough to influence

the race track with enough force to have it carry on an activity it would like to discontinue.

The maintenance of the bar room, with free drinks for any legislator, is a form of lobbying that self-respecting lobbyists would not take part in nor, in most cases, would their employers countenance such action.

It is far from a healthy condition and the free liquor at the Eagle is only part of the entertainment offered by the race track to legislators.

A weekly dance is held during legislative sessions at the Princess Ball Room, on the Daniel Webster Highway north of Concord, during legislative sessions and it is understood that the race track group picks up the check.

Further, a dinner for members of the Ways and Means Committee and their friends is held during each legislative session, with the expense assumed by the race track group, according to reports. In 1953 more than two hundred attended this dinner and enjoyed the food and liquor as well as dancing to the music provided by a "live" band, without being called upon to spend one red cent.

Many courageous, self-respecting legislators refuse to accept any of the gratuitous entertainment offered, some others accept all that is offered.

The acceptance of any free articles or entertainment by a member of the General Court, from a group whose business activities depend in any way on that individual's vote, is undeniably wrong.

Other interests provide liquor through free bar rooms at the Eagle but we do not have definite proof as to who the interests are nor have any of them admitted publicly that they supported such free entertainment. We have been informed by a member of the 1951 General Court that the beer interests paid all the expenses of a large group of legislators for a trip to Boston, dinner and attendance at a ball game. The particular legislator who furnished this information stated he had refused to attend as he did not feel it was good practice for legislators to accept such entertainment when, sooner or later, they would be called upon to vote on legislation affecting the donor.

The whole situation smells to high heaven and it is to be hoped that Rockingham, having admitted its participation in this pernicious practice, will withdraw from all of its "free" activities and allow legislation affecting its interests to be decided upon its merits alone, and that other lobbyists will follow suit.

In the meantime, Mr. Taxpayer, ask YOUR representative these questions:

1. Do you patronize the race track bar room at the Eagle?

2. Do you attend the weekly dances at the Princess?

3. Do you attend the Ways and Means Committee party at the Princess?

4. How did you vote on the proposed increase in the state's percentage of the race track "take" in 1951? in 1953?

The *New Hampshire Taxpayer*, publication of the New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation, January 1954.

Filipinos Hold Free Election

Despite limitations of communication systems, election code, based on NML model election laws, operates well.

By HAROLD F. GOSNELL*

UNTIL WE stand back and look at the operation of modern democracies, we fail to realize how important a role is played by modern means of communication and transportation. In the United States, one candidate wins by means of a citizens' telephone campaign, another makes a successful appeal over radio or television, still a third wins in a primary election because of strong press support. On election day an alert press and radio report important events immediately and thus help insure an honest and fair election.

In the Philippines the backwardness of communications makes the operation of democratic devices difficult. It is hard for many of the voters to learn about the qualifications of candidates. Safeguarding the casting and counting of ballots requires extraordinary vigilance since there is no floodlight of publicity to illuminate the dark areas. What happens in a remote precinct on election day may not be known for days or even weeks.

The extent of the handicap under which the Filipinos suffer can be shown by a few figures. Whereas in the United States every other person has a radio and every third person buys a daily newspaper, in the Philippines only one out of every 100 persons has a radio and only one out of every 50 persons buys a daily newspaper.

It is possible for the party in power, with its vast central control over local administration, to exert great influence over the results of an election should it choose to do so. It was this possibility which created apprehension regarding fraud and terror prior to the November elections. The memory of padded registration, flying voters and intimidation in the 1949 national elections, which returned President Quirino to office, kept the citizens on the alert.

Apparently, in 1949, the powers of the executive over the Philippine constabulary, provincial treasurers, municipal mayors and other local officials were used to terrorize the voters and manipulate the result of the elections. In contests which followed these elections several Liberal congressmen lost their seats. The Nacionalista party was taken by surprise. Its candidate for president, José Laurel, never admitted that he had been rightfully defeated. While frauds were greatly reduced in the 1951 elections, they were not entirely eliminated.

During the 1953 campaign certain actions taken by the government were interpreted as preparatory to the commission of election frauds

*Dr. Gosnell has recently returned from the Philippine Islands, where he witnessed the November 1953 elections for president and national legislature. With the University of Chicago from 1922 to 1946, Dr. Gosnell is professor at the American University. He is author of numerous publications in the field of politics, the most recent of which is *Champion Campaigner: Franklin D. Roosevelt* (1952).

and terror. The last-minute transfers of Philippine constabulary commanders, provincial treasurers and other officials were held to indicate that these officials refused to go along with the government and were being replaced by officials who would "cooperate."

Reports were also printed in the press to the effect that surplus ballots had been printed, that ink eradicator had been distributed, that large campaign funds had been raised to buy votes, and that opposition voters and candidates had been intimidated. These reports were played up in scare fashion. The country was threatened with dire consequences if the elections were "stolen." It was intimated that a revolution might be in the making.

Democracy Demonstrated

On November 10, 1953, the Filipinos demonstrated that in spite of the obstacles which they had to overcome they could successfully use democratic methods to choose their president and national legislature. They voted out of power a regime that seemed ready to use the great powers it had to perpetuate itself in office. Nacionalista candidate Ramon Magsaysay decisively defeated President Elpidio Quirino, running for reelection on the Liberal ticket. The elections were free and the forebodings about fraud and terror proved to be wrong. How was this happy result achieved?

The Philippine election code has many sound features and its administration was in capable hands. The use of the signature to identify the voter, the use of ballot stubs to keep track of ballots, the procedures guaranteeing secrecy, the provisions against treating and bribery, the use of bipartisan boards of inspectors and partisan watchers and the careful regulations governing the reporting of the count are to be found in the *Model Election Administration System* of the National Municipal League and in many state laws.[1]

Unique features of the Philippine election code are the centralization of election administration for the entire country in a Commission on Elections, the use of the right thumb print for identification, the requirement that each voter write the names of the candidates for whom he wishes to vote, the procedures for prompt recount in cases where fraud is suspected, and the use of roving inspectors or representatives of the commission who can go at once to trouble spots. As one watches these provisions in operation, their wisdom grows apparent.

I thought that the requirement of writing out the names of persons voted for could lead to endless haggling and possibly to manipulation. Couldn't the party in power direct the chairmen of boards of inspectors to be excessively technical with all voters who oppose them? In practice the Philippine courts have been very liberal in interpreting voters' intent.[2] The main point to remember is that it is much more difficult, if not impossible, to alter a whole

[1]The author is indebted to the League for the prompt delivery of the *Model Registration System* and *Model Election Administration System* to him in Manila. The Commission on Elections was most grateful to receive them.

[2]Commission on Elections, *General Instructions,* Manila, 1953; José Aruego, *Philippine Government in Action,* Manila, 1953.

name than to alter or erase a cross mark. The count is slowed up but the voter is protected. In addition, the device is one way of enforcing the literacy requirement for voting. It is a spur for improving the educational system.

Not only does the law have some fine features but the commission has some fine public servants. For intelligence, energy, far-sightedness and devotion to public duty it would be hard to duplicate the Commission on Elections in any country.

The commission, able though it is, could not have done the job by itself. An alert body of citizens is always necessary to make election laws work. The Filipinos were organized to protect their voting rights. In the cities where their influence was direct, the Philippine press and radio did a magnificent job. Their crusade for free elections was carried to the remote areas by word of mouth. Travellers would carry back word of the efforts to secure an honest poll. The National Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL), the League of Women Voters, Catholic Action and other civic groups recruited volunteer workers to canvass the precincts for illegal voters, to watch the casting of ballots and to watch the count. Partisan workers were also well trained for the occasion. The Magsaysay-for-President Movement (MPM), the Women's Magsaysay-for-President Movement, the Magsaysay-Garcia Youth League, and the National Students' Movement for Democracy filled their ranks with enthusiastic young people who were determined to safeguard their suffrage. Election corruption had been widespread in 1949, but in 1953 the citizens were organized to combat it.

A word or two about NAMFREL. It was led by a veteran, a former guerrilla, who learned to appreciate democracy during the bitter period of occupation. The other leaders were recruited from the veterans' organizations, jaycees, rotarians and similar nonpartisan groups. Charges of partisanship were made against NAMFREL during the campaign but the organization lived them down.[3] If fighting for honest elections was "partisanship" then they were partisan. It is perhaps too much to ask all the officials of NAMFREL to follow the rule that a member of the Commission on Elections adopted for his family. He told his wife and his son that under no circumstances should they engage in any political activity. Anything they did for any political party would endanger his claim to being nonpartisan.

Election Literature

NAMFREL published a newsletter and a series of pamphlets on how to make the election clean. One pamphlet was entitled *The Ballot Is Your Sacred Heritage* and another, *Here's How We Can Have Free, Honest and Orderly Elections.* Literature of the organization was transported free of charge by individuals connected with various

(Continued on page 164)

[3]The situation was complex. MPM appealed to some of the same groups that had formed NAMFREL. The heads of the two organizations were brothers-in-law. The Liberal candidate for vice president, José Yulo, refused to speak at a NAMFREL meeting. The Philippine press raked him over the coals for this.

How Can Voters Understand?

Clearer, uniform methods of informing citizens on costs of state government urged by ex-businessman now official.

By ROGER A. FREEMAN*

OUR system of government, a government not only for but by the people, rests on the belief that the people are capable of judging vital public issues. The wisdom of the far-reaching decisions they are called upon to make depends largely upon the extent of their knowledge of public affairs.

Americans like to pride themselves on being the best informed nation. How much do we know about our government? In a study on citizen interest in government, the Council of State Governments reported in 1952: "Public opinion surveys consistently reveal a high degree of illiteracy about government." Each of us could probably quote dozens of examples from his own experience as to how little citizens know about state government.

Madison wrote in a letter to W. T. Barry on August 4, 1822: "A popular government without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy, or perhaps both. Knowledge will forever govern ignorance; and a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives."

*Mr. Freeman, formerly in the merchandising business, is special assistant to Governor Arthur B. Langlie of the state of Washington. He is author of *Your Dollar's Worth of State Government,* an official report on finances in his state written for popular consumption, as well as numerous articles on similar topics. This article is his address before the ninth annual convention of the National Association of State Budget Officers.

Why should American people be ignorant about their state governments? State fiscal agencies publish voluminous reports regularly, with hundreds of tables showing all the minute details of state revenues and expenditures. Some states publish abbreviated versions of the big reports. It seems that little of that information gets through to our citizens. The public professes interest but pays no attention to the material prepared for it. There must be something wrong, either with the public or with the material.

I used to be in the merchandising business before I was called into state government; I was a buyer for Macy's for some years. It happened occasionally that we'd have some goods which the public would not buy. The management had a very obnoxious policy in those cases. They never blamed the public.

With all the efforts many states have put into their reports, they do not seem to be able to clarify for the citizens the relationship between the financial plan and the working program of the state. Even "budgets in brief" do not meet the citizens' demand or need for knowledge of the essential facts on state government. We confuse disclosure with information and publish abbreviated transcripts of our books.

Years ago, corporation annual reports were like our abbreviated budgets: terse, technical, forbidding documents. But some companies

would not accept "stockholder ignorance" or "stockholder indifference" as unconquerable. They went to a great deal of trouble to find out what the people wanted to know — and what they would read. Recent annual reports of major industrial corporations are attractive, informative and invite reading. The *Financial World* grades 5,000 stockholder reports each year and awards "Oscars of Industry" for the best one. Weston Smith, vice president of the *Financial World,* who runs those contests, has said his publication would be glad to run a category for states or for governments in general — if they had competitive entries. There aren't any now.

Reports Too Technical

What's wrong with government reports? They consist largely of technical terms and figures. Figure-statements mean something to finance officers, because they are used to working with them. But to most others they are dull, even frightening. We must translate figures into a language which nontechnical people can understand. The real trouble lies, I believe, in the approach: we view the budget from the official's angle, not from the public's angle. From where the official sits the budget has two sides, revenues and expenditures. That's not the way the public looks at it.

What the public puts into state government is taxes; what it gets back is not expenditures but services. Service to people is the ultimate purpose of government; and people are more interested in people than in anything else. They prefer a "rendition of the melody to a copy of the music score."

The high point of a corporation annual report is the chapter that talks about the dividends, the return which the stockholder gets on his investment. A state cannot express its dividends in dollars per share. The dividends which the taxpayer gets are not "per capita expenditures." They are children educated, aged and disabled supported, patients in hospitals cared for or cured, handicapped made self-supporting, highways constructed and maintained, roads patrolled and accidents prevented.

The most important lesson a state financial report can and should drive home is that taxes are payments for services which the people buy collectively through government. The way to cut the bill is to order less.

Now, all this is not new. It is basically the philosophy of the "performance type" budget, based on functions, activities and services, which the Hoover Commission recommended a few years ago.

No matter how much narrative we have, or how many graphs, a financial report must contain many figures. The human brain cannot absorb series of unrelated figures without a yardstick by which it can judge them. What is a yardstick of state costs? Since there is no objective standard, comparisons are the only means of arriving at relative judgments. The only comparisons we show in our budgets are data for the preceding year or biennium. What makes last year a standard? Maybe it was too much because that interest group had a glib advocate,

or maybe it was too little. "The assembly of a mass of financial data is of no avail unless the professional or amateur analyst can look past the figures and recognize the major forces which have produced the ends."[1]

How do corporate managers, bankers, investors or creditors evaluate the financial and operating data of a company? Through the industry approach. Trade associations serving management, investment services and credit bureaus prepare industry surveys in which they show various ratios and percentages of the companies in the same line of industry side by side. That is one of the most useful and informative services they render their clients.

Can we compare financial data of various states with each other? The committee on Uniformity of Reporting Revenues and Expenditures of the National Association of State Budget Officers reported in 1949, "At the present time state budget systems and accounts present a bewildering variety when comparisons are attempted." Interstate fiscal comparisons cannot be based on our present state budgets or financial reports. States may use the same terms — but those terms don't always mean the same things. Remember what Humpty-Dumpty said? "When I use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less." "The question is," said Alice, "whether you *can* make words mean so many different things."

In state accounting we can. The same term may mean 48 different things in the 48 states. No two states use the same system of funds, departmental organization or account classification. Some states include federal grants-in-aid in their budgets and some do not; some include agencies which are supported from license fees and user charges and some do not; some count transfers of funds to other state agencies as expenditures and some do not; some include certain revolving or trust funds and some do not.

Whenever legislative study committees set out to investigate major areas of state operation they try to obtain interstate comparisons. They know there is no better way to judge a state's work program than to view it in the light of the standards, practices and experiences of other states. They usually base their revenue and expenditure data on the only source which is now available for such interstate comparisons — the statistics of the U. S. Bureau of the Census. The Census Bureau has for many years gathered financial statistics of states. It pays no attention to fund or agency breakdowns but reclassifies revenues and expenditures by functions — education, public welfare, highways, public safety, natural resources, health and hospitals, etc.

The Census Bureau shows as state expenditures all payments made by agencies and instrumentalities of state governments, including self-sustaining, proprietary and insurance and trust fund operations, monopoly systems and independent authorities. That is the total of all external disbursing transactions of state governments. It is not the cost of state

[1] *Annual Reports to Stockholders,* by N. Loyall McLaren. New York, 1947.

government. The liquor purchases of a state monopoly system, for example, are a disbursement of state funds, but they do not constitute cost of government.

There is a widespread, legitimate demand for interstate comparisons of the cost of state government which cannot be satisfied from any presently available source. It seems that the fiscal officers of the states could render a valuable service by defining "cost of state government" and agreeing on a uniform system of reporting it.

Unsolvable Problem

Some years ago the National Association of State Budget Officers set up a committee to explore the possibilities of uniform financial reporting. The committee held several meetings between 1947 and 1949. It has not been active since. "Its members felt that they were up against an unsolvable problem; that though association members might agree on a set of standard classifications, so many changes in state laws would be necessary that the ultimate goal could not be reached."

To design a standard state accounting system would be the most desirable way to accomplish uniformity of reporting. But it would at best take many years to have it adopted by all states. The other possibility is to continue with our diverse accounting systems and reclassify their products to fit uniform reporting requirements. That is a clumsy and laborious method. But it may be the only practical way at this time.

Experience in other fields has shown that uniform reporting often leads eventually to uniform accounting. No law forces industrial enterprises to use uniform accounting. But they must submit uniform reports to the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Internal Revenue Service, stock exchanges, credit bureaus and regulatory commissions. Most of them gradually adjust their books to fit those requirements.

The American Institute of Accountants and the American Accounting Association have promulgated certain generally accepted accounting principles. Many industries have gone farther than that. They realized that uniform accounting could produce an extremely useful management tool and adopted standard terminology and classification.

Can governments agree on uniform procedures? A large number of uniform state laws, particularly in the fields of commercial law and crime control, have found their way onto the statute books of many states since 1892, under the sponsorship of the National Association of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws and more recently the Council of State Governments.

Can that be done in the field of financial statistics? Within the last year the Canadian provinces agreed on a uniform system of financial reporting. State departments which handle federal aid must now observe uniformity in some of their statistical reporting. May we not assume that states will be able to agree among themselves on a mutually beneficial program without federal compulsion?

Our legislators may be more agree-

able or even enthusiastic over the idea of uniformity than we think. They find it more difficult to grope their way through state financial reports than do finance officers. Initiative and leadership for such a program must obviously come from fiscal officials.

Use of Per Capita Data

The amounts dealt with in state budgets are so enormous that they defy the understanding of people who are not used to wading casually through hundreds of millions of dollars. Multi-digit figures can be reduced to manageable size by the use of per capita data. For purpose of comparison between states or over a period of years, however, it is preferable to express revenues and expenditures in percentages of the income of the residents of the state (state income payments). State taxes of $60 per capita impose a lighter burden in a state with a per capita income of $2,000 than in a state with an average income of $800. Public welfare expenditures of $15 per capita do not mean the same thing in a state with an average weekly wage of $46 and one with a wage of $86. Most important though, per capita taxes or expenditures of $60 in 1952 are not the same as $60 in 1940.

All these variables — the different income level and financial capacity of states and the shrinking value of the dollar — are automatically considered when we express taxes and expenditures in percentage of state income payments. It seems to be the most effective way to present the huge sums in their right perspective for either historical or interstate comparisons. What counts is not how many millions of dollars we pay in taxes but how large a share of our income we have to shell out. Just as we say that we spend 29 per cent of our income for food, 21 per cent for housing and household operation, 9 per cent for clothing and 4 per cent for recreation, we may say that we spend 6.2 per cent of our income to buy certain services through our state governments — 1.6 per cent goes to education, 1.3 per cent to highways, etc.

Over-all comparisons of the size of state expenditures need to be supplemented with a description of the relative share of financial responsibility borne by state and local governments in each state. Cost accounting should provide a variety of unit data — how much it costs to educate a child, to maintain a patient in a hospital, to build a mile of concrete road, to process a tax return, to patrol 100 miles of highway, etc. Those unit data have, of course, only limited value for interstate comparisons until we can establish quality standards and uniform methods of cost accounting. While those standards of cost accounting are a desirable objective, it seems to me that priority should be accorded to a project of uniform reporting of revenues and expenditures.

To agree on a pattern of uniform reporting is not just a question of compromising on some accounting rules. Uniform reporting may in some cases result in an expenditure total which is several hundred million dollars higher than that shown in the budget. That will take a lot

of explaining to the newspapers and to the public.

Two principles should guide a uniform financial reporting system:

1. It should be comprehensive;
2. It should strive to achieve comparability between states according to substance rather than according to legal form.

The summary statement might be fashioned after the consolidated statement of a corporation with many subsidiaries which are engaged in a great variety of activities and which are wholly or partially controlled by the parent company. The reporting system should include all agencies and instrumentalities created by the state for state purposes, whether or not they are subject to legislative appropriation, gubernatorial control or quarterly allotments by the budget office.

What Is Cost of Government

The Census Bureau code is an excellent starting point. A series of adjustments will be necessary to exclude non-cost disbursements and bring various classifications into conformance with cost concepts.

Some items may cause a little difficulty. The Census Bureau treats state employee and teacher retirement systems as "trust fund operations." Most fiscal officers will probably regard state contributions to retirement systems as cost expenditures.

The treatment of so-called self-sustaining activities may not be so easy to settle. Many regulatory agencies in the field of public utilities, banks, insurance companies, professions, agriculture, game and fish, recreation, motor vehicles and drivers, etc., are financed from license fees or direct service charges and receive no support from general tax revenues. But they use the police power of the state and are carried on as governmental functions. They probably constitute "cost of government."

Several states have created authorities to construct state office buildings or other public works from the proceeds of revenue bond issues. Other states finance those undertakings from current funds or by issuing regular state bonds. Is there a basic difference to the citizen between the two methods? Is a state office building constructed from current funds "cost of government" while an authority-financed building is not? Is state aid to districts for public school construction "cost of government" while construction of school buildings by a state authority is not? Are self-sustaining state insurance systems for workmen's compensation and disability cost of state government?

In recent years it has become increasingly popular to create state highway authorities for the construction of certain roads and bridges. Some states are now doing the greater part of their road-building through authorities. Are those authorities part of state government or are they independent, self-sustaining enterprises?

It may not be easy to solve those controversial questions to everybody's satisfaction. It is to be hoped though that an agreement will be

reached and a start made soon toward uniform reporting, although the system may not be perfect in the beginning. It will be helpful to consult with banking and investment groups, financial analysts societies, the American Institute of Accountants, Controllers Institute of America and Municipal Finance Officers Association.

Need for Information

Investors have for a long time complained about the lack of information on governments. Julius Grodinsky, in his recent book, *Investments,* (Ronald Press Company, New York) says:

> Another significant difference between private and public securities is sufficiently important to merit consideration. Private corporations publish information that is comparable and, subject to numerous qualifications, can be readily interpreted. For some industries — railroads, electricity, gas, telephone, automobiles and steel among others — there is available industry-wide information. The investor can compare the figures as a whole. It is difficult, and frequently impossible, to make such comparisons in the field of public securities. Budgets are bulky and complex documents. . . . The investor has little grist for his analysis mill.

Most states depend for their major improvement programs on the investment market. It would be in the state's interest to make available to investors the kind of information which they are used to getting from other applicants for funds.

It will be helpful to enlist the support of the press and civic groups. They will doubtless welcome and aid efforts to improve state reporting. They have long demanded more meaningful and understandable information on governmental costs. Close cooperation between state financial officers, the staff of the Council of State Governments, the Bureau of the Census and the U. S. Bureau of the Budget could produce tangible results within a reasonable time.

The success of a project of uniformly and understandably reporting the financial operations of state government can greatly enhance the standing of state budget officers. A budget officer holds a position similar to the controller of a business corporation. It has been said repeatedly that the most important function of a controller is not to gather and summarize detailed figures, or to accomplish minor savings here and there, but to interpret operating results and financial statements to the other executives.

State fiscal offices submit more minute details to legislatures than corporations give to their boards of directors or to their stockholders. But corporation management receives more significant information to guide it in its policy determination than our governors, our legislators and our citizenry.

Attention must be given to making state costs meaningful to the average citizen because popular information on government is probably the most important factor in maintaining and strengthening government by the people.

Lawmakers Take Initiative

Louisiana's new legislative council, in first year of operation, encourages legislators to assume leadership.

By WILLIAM C. HAVARD*

THE Louisiana Legislative Council, created by the 1952 legislative session, made Louisiana the 29th state to set up such an agency. On August 1, 1953, the council completed a year of actual operation. This article attempts to report the human and political problems of organizing such a council as found in one state.

During this first year the new organization has run the full gamut of experience in so far as its activities are concerned: one major research report, *The Legislative Process in Louisiana,* was completed by the staff; a special session was held in July 1953, during which the staff provided the usual professional services; two outside research projects—on highways and education—were authorized to be carried out under the council's general supervision; and literally a flood of committee, council and private member reports were begun, many of which are now completed.

Given this background of experience, it is possible to review the Louisiana Council's operations with an eye to the special problems that such an organization is likely to encounter in its early stages. It is well to bear in mind that Louisiana has not as a state been noted for the use of technical aides for its legislature and judiciary. Until recently there has been little interim budgetary activity on the part of the legislature, and only this year has a system of permanent registration gone into effect for part of the state.

These are merely random illustrations, but they serve to point up the major problem of securing acceptance for totally new governmental devices such as a legislative council. Other states with political patterns similar to Louisiana are likely to encounter precisely the same difficulties manifested in this state as they move in the direction of bringing their governmental operations into line with recommendations made by proponents of reform.

The provisions of the act creating the Louisiana Council are fairly typical. The council itself is composed of the speaker of the House, the lieutenant governor and eight members from each of the two houses. The eight members from each house are distributed geographically on the basis of one member from each of the state's eight congressional districts.

The council is permitted to employ an executive director who in turn selects, with the council's approval, the agency's clerical and professional staff. The total staff has varied from about six to ten members, its usual composition being from four to six researchers and two to four cleri-

*Mr. Havard, assistant professor in the College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Florida, was with the Legislative Council of Louisiana, during the summer of 1953, as a research associate.

cal assistants. The legislature appropriated $60,000 for the expenses of the agency for each fiscal year of the 1952-54 biennium. This figure was supplemented by an additional allocation of $20,000 for fiscal 1953-54.

Duties of Council

The legally defined functions of the council, like its composition, are fairly typical of the practice elsewhere, with perhaps slightly more emphasis on research assistance to individual legislators than is usual. The law permits the council to provide bill-drafting services, make long-range studies of problems for future legislative consideration, give research assistance to individual legislators, engage in fiscal analysis, prepare reports on pending legislation, produce manuals and directories and perform all the duties that it may deem essential to the efficient working of the legislature. With the single exception of fiscal analysis the staff has been active in all these functional areas.

The major problems encountered by the council have been political rather than legal or administrative. That is to say, the difficulties of staffing, performance and conformity to the legal basis of the agency have been less noteworthy and of less interest than the problems of carrying on effective relations with the legislature and the administration.

The first of these problems of effective relations derives from the strong tendency on the part of the state's political officers to assume that no governmental activity is free from political influence. In Louisiana the governor has long maintained undisputed leadership of the legislature. At the same time, state politics are characterized by the presence of two factions which, in terms of organization and program, closely resemble a two-party system, although without the responsibility and permanent clarity of line of two-party government. Consequently, since the council was created during a new administration's first legislative session, it immediately became associated in the minds of many legislators with that administration. Sides were chosen accordingly and the council and its staff were forced to adopt a wary defensive position in the attempt to prove absolute impartiality.

The events of the special session of 1953 did much to shake the dedicated political partisan's confidence in the supposition that every state agency belongs body and soul to one of the two state factions. The council staff prepared an analysis of the twelve administration bills introduced at that session. As a result of the interpretation of several of these bills, the administration leaders were forced to defend their program with more care than usual and even to accept floor amendments to some of their bills. The council was thus placed in the peculiar position of being the temporary hero of its former opponents. A number of legislators remained unconvinced, however, that the staff of the council was a fact-finding body rather than the promoter of factional interests, and a few were even heard muttering that the council and the

administration had better get together on their bills. The council is, nevertheless, impartial in all its findings and has actually been quite successful in avoiding partisanship.

It is an interesting sidelight on this situation to note that the deviousness of factional politics in this one-party state may have militated against the acceptance of impartial professional legislative services much more than if the political division were clearly manifested in a two-party system. The attempt to commit the council to a definite stand on current political issues is a practice that seems to be accepted as a legitimate part of the state's political "gamesmanship."

Legislative Employees Critical

Closely related to the difficulty of demonstrating the nature of its function to politicians and public alike is the problem of securing acceptance of the council's staff by the older, established legislative employees. The fear of loss of prerogative and influence on the part of a few persons who occupy traditional legislative staff positions precipitated the most overt attack on the Louisiana Legislative Council which has yet occurred. The occasion for the explosion was the publication of the legislative process study. This thorough report, though widely praised both in and out of the state for its accuracy and impartiality, was openly attacked in a letter from a legislative employee to members of the legislature, a letter which was given fairly widespread press coverage. Although the criticism of the study was in vague and general terms, it was grist to the mill of the small group who had already categorized the council as a political agency in their own minds. In consequence, the unusual step was taken by House Resolution 9 of the special session of 1953 of inviting the legislative employee responsible for the attack to explain his position.

It is probable that the remarks made by the critic on the floor of the House strengthened rather than weakened the position of the council since the sole point of his speech was that the report was insulting to the legislators because it referred to certain standing committees as "minor." The fact that a number of these "minor" committees had not met at all during the life of the present legislature made the comment of the council on them a truism obvious to all members present. Further assault of this type on the council and its functions has probably been forestalled by the lack of effect that the employee's address had on the legislature.

Perhaps even more important to the future of the council than these evidences of personalized attitudes toward government agencies and the process of government is the inability of most of the legislators to make proper use of this new agency. In order to avoid the charge that the council was set up to usurp the legislative function, the council has bent over backward in proffering staff services to individual members of the two houses. As a result, the council itself has probably not taken the initiative comparable to that in some other states in providing for

larger research studies, and the director has been flooded with unchanneled direct requests from non-council members.

Many of these requests hit at important problems which cannot be solved with the ease that the legislator would like. In other cases the member is not quite sure what information he is seeking and sometimes has to apply for assistance several times before he even discovers the full implications of the legislative project that he is trying to get under way. It is difficult for legislators in all states, accustomed as they are to using a subjective approach to governmental problems, to adapt themselves to the current necessity of securing specialized reports on technical and involved subjects.

Legislators Take Initiative

Fortunately only a few members demonstrate their inability to appreciate the importance of unbiased research to the legislative process by indulging in caprice. One Louisiana legislator did, however, request an extensive study and, when the completed material was delivered, commented that he had not really desired information on the subject but only wanted to find out what that "outfit" was doing. It is hardly necessary to remark on the reaction of the trained and well paid professional personnel who had put weeks of work into that particular report.

As the council continues to function, its operations, both internally and in relation to other state agencies, should smooth out. The council probably will begin to give more effective direction to the staff in terms of work-load, and the requests from individuals are likely to decline as the initial volume of piled-up need for information is satisfied. Already there are encouraging signs. Many a skeptic in the legislature has become convinced of the value of such an organization because of the practical services which have been performed for him by the staff.

More than this, some of the oldest antiques in the legislative closet are being hauled out for inspection. For the first time in many years the legislature has become concerned with what it should do to maintain continuous review over the budget; and the legislative process study has furnished the impetus for statewide committee hearings on the need for changing outmoded legislative procedures.

Although not directly connected with the council, a series of interim study committees has been formed on the fundamental problems of the state, with most of the services being provided for these committees by the council staff.

In brief, the council has in large part been the inspiration for reawakening the initiative of the legislators in the lawmaking process, thereby altering the past practice of allowing all leadership to go by default to the governor. In large part, the very problems with which the council has had to wrestle most vigorously are evidence of the need for such a legislative service agency in Louisiana.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Politicians Attack Philadelphia Charter

Many Weakening Changes Are Submitted to Council

THE HOME rule charter that Philadelphia achieved in 1952 after a long struggle, marked at the end by the overthrow of the entrenched Republican regime by reform Democrats, is under heavy attack by leaders of the old-time organizations of both Democrats and Republicans.[1] Twenty amendments, tending to weaken the charter in various ways and to various degrees, have come before the city council, fourteen by petitions, representing the wishes of Democratic City Chairman William J. Green, Jr., and six offered by two Democratic councilmen, for possible submission to popular vote on May 18. This would be at the primary election, on which occasion the political machines hope to dominate. As a "compromise," it was proposed to defer a vote until the November general election and appoint a committee to study proposed amendments.

The especially harmful and controversial proposals, included in both groups, would remove from the civil service system the employees and subordinates of all elected officers, other than the mayor, and the members and employees of various boards, and would permit political activity by employees of elected officials and of various boards.

Opponents of these amendments assert that they would remove from the charter the provisions intended to keep the city hall from becoming "a haven for political drones and a center of political activity." Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., has warned their sponsors that they would "never be forgiven by the electorate of Philadelphia." District Attorney Richardson Dilworth, team-mate of Mayor Clark in the 1952 campaign but who has been reported as favoring more political activity by city employees, is joining in the fight to preserve the charter and, when looked to as a Democratic candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, has announced that his first duty is to the city in its present danger.

The six amendments proposed by councilmen would, in addition: Permit city officials to seek other elective offices without resigning the posts they hold; allow the council to fill vacancies in elective offices; deprive the civil service commission of the right to waive residence requirements for municipal employees and place that power in the council; and give the council final authority in determining water and sewer rates now fixed by the water commissioners subject to standards that may be set by the council.

The fourteen proposals sought by petition, which may be deferred indefinitely, include the following additional provisions:

Require councilmanic confirmation of the mayor's appointment to the positions of managing director, director of finance and city representative; appointments by the managing director and the director of finance; and the appointment, by the civil service commission, of the personnel director;

Repeal the provision that no councilman shall solicit or recommend the appointment of any person to any position in the civil service, nor interfere with the performance of the duties of the police or other city employees;

Remove the Fairmount Park Com-

[1] See the REVIEW, February 1954, page 85.

mission (a city agency) from under the charter, and prevent the city council from reorganizing former county offices—thus largely nullifying city-county consolidation;

Require a line-item budget for personal services, instead of making appropriations to city agencies by major classes in lump sums;

Eliminate the requirement that the city's pension systems be actuarially sound;

Remove the managing director's right of appeal to the civil service commission if dismissed;

Decentralize the city's legal activities, now under the city solicitor;

Provide for an elective rather than an appointive city solicitor;

Remove the present requirement of minimum mandatory appropriations for the civil service commission.

Council-manager Plan Developments

JOPLIN, MISSOURI, (1950 population 38,711) adopted the council-manager plan on February 9 by a vote of 4,750 to 3,769.

PONCA CITY, OKLAHOMA, (20,180) put the council-manager plan into effect on February 1 as provided by ordinance adopted December 21, 1953. The city has had a modified manager plan for many years, not considered adequate until now by the International City Managers' Association.

OKMULGEE, OKLAHOMA, (18,317) adopted a council-manager charter on January 26 by a vote of 1,704 to 1,163. It was drafted by President Charles F. Spencer of East Central State College of Ada, Oklahoma, working with a committee of the Okmulgee Junior Chamber of Commerce, and is expected to go into effect on April 13 of this year.

FERGUSON, MISSOURI, (11,573) adopted the council-manager plan by a vote of 1,859 to 587, on February 2, to take effect after the April election.

IN ARLINGTON HEIGHTS, ILLINOIS, (8,768) a council-manager ordinance passed by the village council and vetoed by the mayor was repassed by the council, four to two, on January 5, to override the veto.

COMMERCE, TEXAS, (5,889) on January 30 voted 525 to 310 in favor of a council-manager charter, effective April 1. It provides for five commissioners or councilmen, to serve without pay. In the course of the campaign a questionnaire survey by C. A. Bonham, as to 50 Texas council-manager communities ranging up to 10,700 population, showed general satisfaction with the plan. Out of 27 manager towns smaller than Commerce, fourteen had lower tax rates, ten the same and three higher rates. Manager salaries in the 27 ranged from $2,400 to $8,000. In the entire group of 50, the salary ranged up to $10,000. Twenty places reported that the manager was a local man; 25, a man from out of town.

The MASSACHUSETTS House of Representatives, by a vote of 118 to 105, on February 1 rejected a bill that would have required city managers to submit all appointments to city councils for approval. The House also rejected, by voice vote, a bill that would guarantee the right of a city councilman to seek information from department heads.

A committee to study the town manager form of government and a system of limited representative town meetings has been proposed in a report of the public works committee of WARE, MASSACHUSETTS.

The BRIGHTON, MICHIGAN, *Argus* urges the council-manager plan for that city, which now has the mayor-council form.

The city council of ELGIN, ILLINOIS, has set April 6 as the date for a special election on the question of adopting the council-manager plan.

The new city council of CHARLES CITY, IOWA, voted to abolish the office of city manager.

KIRKSVILLE, MISSOURI, defeated a proposed council-manager plan by a vote of 1,530 to 550 on February 2.

It is expected that a new charter being drafted for EL PASO, TEXAS, will provide the voters with a choice between the council-manager and the mayor-council forms.

The government committee of the PUEBLO, COLORADO, charter convention voted four to one on January 20 to recommend the council-manager plan, and the convention itself voted for it twenty to one. Pueblo has had a form of commission-manager government since 1950, but without full authority for the manager, according to the Pueblo *Chieftain*, which urges adoption of a complete council-manager form. It states that under the present charter the manager can only be a "glorified executive secretary for the city council," which consists of fourteen members elected by districts.

A proposed council-manager charter has been filed with the mayor and city commission of TULSA, OKLAHOMA, by a committee that has been working on the matter since April 1953. Another committee submitted a charter based on the strong mayor principle. The manager charter specifies a nonpartisan council of seven, including the mayor, with four-year terms but with elections at two-year intervals—four members at one time and three at the following election.

LA GRANDE, OREGON, voted 354 to 118 to approve a newly drafted council-manager charter at a special election on December 1, 1953. Manager government was originally established in La Grande in 1913.

MARYSVILLE, CALIFORNIA, defeated a proposed council-manager charter 1,424 to 502 on January 18.

In FORTUNA, CALIFORNIA, a study committee has recommended the council-manager plan to the city council, which has placed the question of its adoption on the ballot for April 13.

Greenwich, Connecticut, Makes First Test of Model Primary

As previously related[1] Greenwich, Connecticut, (population 43,000) obtained from the legislature a party primary procedure for its partisan elections closely following the National Municipal League's *Model Direct Primary Election System.*

The first trial under the new law came on October 14, 1953, and resulted in an unprecedented outpouring of voters for the selection of nominees in both the Republican and Democratic parties.

Ironically, the old guard faction of the Republican party, which had bitterly fought reform in nominating procedures, was able to use those procedures in successfully contesting three of the 21 choices submitted by the insurgent Town Committee responsible for the reform. Their proposals for the Republican nomination for two selectman posts and the office of registrar of voters defeated the reform faction's choices. The other eighteen were uncontested. Members of the Democratic party—a 30 per cent minority in Greenwich—under the new rules of procedure were able to present and successfully campaign for a member of the bipartisan board of education who many felt had been dropped by the party management for purely political reasons.

This demonstration of a healthy citizen interest in the selection of party candidates for public office climaxed a long struggle by various citizen groups in Greenwich. Connecticut is the only state without a primary system. Nominating procedures in Greenwich, as in many other towns and cities, had been determined by town committees, the management of local political parties. Through its control of party rules and the use of an antiquated caucus system, each party committee not only effectively discouraged opposition proposals but perpetuated itself in power.

[1]See the REVIEW, July 1953, page 346.

Citizen groups had long recognized the need for reform. In 1949 the Greenwich Legislative Council and the Greenwich League of Women Voters supported a bill which would have required the town committees to give party members a more adequate opportunity to study their nominations and to propose others. The bill was killed in a committee of the legislature because of opposition from party leaders then in control of the Republican Town Committee.

If reform was to be brought about, local Republican leadership, it was apparent, would have to be changed. A "Republican Citizens Committee" of about 400, faced with the certainty that the incumbent members of the Republican Town Committee would again rename themselves as candidates, put together a full slate of petition candidates well in advance of the caucus date. These candidates campaigned on a platform calling for the enactment of a direct primary law for Greenwich, the liberalization of rules governing participation in party affairs, and an end to estates-appraisal patronage. Nonpartisan groups endorsed the objectives of the reform movement.

Thirty-four of the 37 reform candidates were elected. The new Town Committee secured enactment of the special primary bill in the 1953 legislature. It amended the rules of the Republican party so that members of its governing board, the Republican Town Committee, are elected by district, with ample time and opportunity for candidates to be presented in opposition to the slate selected by the Town Committee after that slate is brought out. The committee's candidates are identified as such on the primary ballots.

The new leadership is now engaged in efforts to change an archaic state estate-appraisal system which in many Connecticut towns and cities is an important source of patronage.

Old guard forces, supported by the only newspaper with a town-wide circulation, are complaining about the cost of the primary, now a municipal function. Indications are that a strong effort will be made to unseat the present Republican Town Committee and check a rising tide of sentiment in favor of further reform in Greenwich.

Greenwich's nonpartisan representative town meeting of 230 members is considering reports proposing creation of a town manager under the board of selectmen.

R. S. C.

Cincinnati Council on Radio and TV

Weekly radio broadcasts of meetings of the Cincinnati city council are being presented by station WSAI. A microphone is placed on the desk of each councilman and a complete recording of each regular Wednesday meeting is made. It is subsequently edited by the radio station so that the broadcast will take only 15 minutes, when presented on the same evening at 6:15. The necessary equipment is provided by the station at no cost to the city. Television broadcasts of council meetings are also occasionally given.

State Commission Ends Study of N. Y. City Government

The Temporary State Commission to Study the Organizational Structure of the Government of the City of New York[1] submitted its final report on February 2 and called for broad city charter revision "to meet the city's serious managerial crisis" and to place its government on a sound basis in budget, personnel and top-level administration. It reiterated its previous recommendations for a strong "city administrator" in addition to a deputy

[1]See the REVIEW, November 1953, page 517.

mayor, a personnel administrator and a performance budget. As to the city administrator, an office now established and held by Dr. Luther Gulick, it expressed disappointment over the limitations on his powers. It noted that a first step has been taken by the city towards a true performance budget, but said that no definite action has been taken to improve the personnel system or to expand and redefine the deputy mayor's functions.

Connecticut Municipalities Form Organization

A constitution and by-laws for the Association of Connecticut Towns and Cities were adopted at a meeting in Cheshire in December and plans were made for an annual meeting in May. Representatives from 50 towns and cities were present and the chief executives of 25 other local units wrote to the temporary chairman, Mayor Stephen Bailey of Middletown, indicating their interest in becoming members.

Georgia to Vote on Five Amendments

At a session held in November and December 1953, the General Assembly of Georgia passed five constitutional amendments to be submitted to the people at the next general election:

Home Rule. This amendment provides that the provisions of Article XV of the Georgia constitution dealing with home rule be deleted in their entirety and replaced by the following: "The General Assembly is authorized to provide by law for the self-government of municipalities and to that end is hereby expressly given the authority to delegate its powers so that matters pertaining to municipalities upon which, prior to the ratification of this amendment, it was necessary for the General Assembly to act, may be dealt with without the necessity of action by the General Assembly. Any powers granted as provided herein shall be exercised subject only to statutes of general application pertaining to municipalities."

A municipal home rule act passed by the General Assembly of Georgia in 1951 was declared void by the State Supreme Court in September 1953.[1]

Educational Funds to Citizens. Governor Herman Talmadge advocates abolition of public schools in Georgia if the United States Supreme Court rules against "equal but separate" schools for the white and colored races in cases now pending. Upon his recommendation, the General Assembly passed an amendment to the state constitution designed to prepare the way for grants to citizens for private education. It reads as follows:

"Grants for Education: Notwithstanding any other provision of this constitution, the General Assembly may by law provide for grants of state, county or municipal funds to citizens of the state for educational purposes, in discharge of all obligation of the state to provide adequate education for its citizens."

Additional Taxation by Counties for Education. The Georgia constitution places a 15-mill limitation on taxation by counties for educational purposes. A proposed amendment would permit individual counties, upon a favorable vote in a referendum on the question, to exceed this limitation.

Slum Clearance. This amendment declares slum clearance to be a governmental function and authorizes the exercise of the power of taxation and eminent domain in furtherance of slum clearance.

Annual Legislative Sessions. This amendment provides that the General Assembly shall meet annually for a session of 40 days. Georgia has experimented a great deal with constitutional provisions on sessions of the legislature.

[1]See the REVIEW, October 1953, page 462.

Since 1877 the state has tried, in the order listed, biennial sessions, annual sessions, split annual sessions and biennially-adjourned sessions. Now it appears that it will return to annual sessions.

One argument advanced for the need of a new constitution in 1945 was the hodge-podge of amendments, numbering 301, to the constitution of 1877. If the tempo of recent years is continued, the constitution of 1945 will soon have been amended as many times as the former constitution. In the six-year period from 1946 to 1952 a total of 101 constitutional amendments passed the General Assembly and 83 of these were ratified by the people.

When the constitution is cluttered up with numerous provisions statutory in nature that require frequent revision the basis for the distinction between constitutional and statutory law is destroyed.

ALBERT B. SAYE
University of Georgia

Alabama Eases Poll Tax Requirement

An amendment to the Alabama constitution, to allow persons to vote upon payment of two years' back poll taxes—a maximum of $3.00 instead of $36 as formerly, was approved by the voters on December 28.

Partisan Legislative Setups Sought in Nebraska

The political party leaders who last year announced a plan to restore the bicameral legislature in Nebraska,[1] if the voters would act favorably on a constitutional amendment at the general election in 1954, have announced a change in their proposed initiative petition. They will seek instead to restore the partisan features and enlarge the membership of the single house.

If these plans materialize, and the voters approve the constitutional amendment, the nonpartisan feature which has characterized the legislature since 1937 would come to an end and partisan lines would be restored in legislative campaigns, elections, programs and organization. Additionally, the present membership, which is set at 43 (it may range between 30 and 50 members), would be subjected to new minimum and maximum ranges, probably double the existing numbers. There appears to be far greater support among various political groups for this proposed change than the one which would have restored the bicameral legislature in addition.

A. C. BRECKENRIDGE
University of Nebraska

California Civil Service Committee Reports

The Senate Interim Committee on Civil Service, established by the California Senate in 1951 to investigate the state civil service system, recommended various changes to the 1953 Senate. Its final report has recently become available in printed form.

A primary question considered by the committee concerned policy and procedure as to dismissal of incompetent employees. The report sympathetically discussed a proposal by civil service consultants to authorize removal of permanent employees by department heads but concluded that this would be too drastic a revision of the present system. It urged that supervisors should take greater responsibility with regard to personnel, including better utilization of performance reports, which in 1951 and 1952 showed only 0.1 per cent of all employees, or about 38, as graded "unsatisfactory," although 434 disciplinary actions were taken against permanent employees in the two years. It was also pointed out that 66 per cent of state employees responding to a questionnaire felt that it

[1] See the REVIEW, December 1953, page 563.

should be made easier to remove unsatisfactory employees.

Three bills were submitted: one calling upon the State Personnel Board to recommend a uniform schedule of penalties to guide supervising officials; one providing that hearing officers submit findings and recommendations to the board, instead of the present requirement that the latter have a full transcript of all testimony in disciplinary actions before final decision, which is thus delayed; and a three-year statute of limitations for disciplinary proceedings.

The Board was also urged to recommend appropriate grievance procedures to the individual agencies, and to report from time to time as to their adoption.

Six Fellowships Offered in Public Administration

The Citizens Research Council of Michigan (Loren B. Miller, executive director, Farwell Building, Detroit 26) announces the offering, for the fifth year, of six Lent D. Upson fellowships. They provide for graduate training in public administration at Wayne University in Detroit, for twelve months beginning in September 1954. The course includes on-the-job training with the research council of not less than 1,080 hours. A fellowship carries a grant of $1,800 plus graduate tuition and fees and G. I. rights.

Special Districts Increase 48% in Ten Years

The Bureau of the Census issued in January its report on *Special District Governments in the United States,* dealing with 1952 data. It states that "the growth in number of special districts—from about 8,300 in 1942 to some 12,300 in 1952—has been one of the most striking developments in American governmental structure during the past decade." This is an increase of 48 per cent. The count of special districts includes only units having substantial autonomy and thus excludes many local authorities closely related to other governments. School districts are not involved.

The total of 12,319 special districts is classified into the following groups, as to functions: natural resources (soil conservation, irrigation, drainage, etc.) 5,224; fire protection, 2,272; housing, 863; highways, 761; water supply, 665; sanitation, 429; health, 228; nonhighway transportation, 159; hospitals, 156; utilities other than water, 105; all other, 1,457. Non-water utilities account for the largest percentage (29.3) of all revenues received; but housing districts or authorities account for 39.7 per cent of total expenditures and 30.4 per cent of long-term debt.

Michigan Holds Traffic Conferences

Two conferences on highway safety were held at Michigan State College in January. The first was a traffic court conference sponsored jointly by Michigan State, the Traffic Institute of Northwestern University, American Bar Association, Michigan Justices of the Peace Association, Michigan Prosecutors Association, Michigan Municipal Judges Association and Michigan Association of Municipal Attorneys. The conference was on the theme that the judge is the key to traffic safety. Representatives of various associations sponsoring the conference met to study scientific techniques, promote uniformity in procedure, build public confidence and respect for the courts, propose model legislation, discuss and confer on problems relating to courts and traffic enforcement.

A second conference was held on highway safety and was sponsored by the Michigan Safety Commission. Those present included members of the legislature, state officials, and representatives of business, industry, utilities, universities, schools, social agencies and courts. The object was to propose a program to reduce traffic deaths and traffic accidents of all kinds. E.W.W.

County and Township . . . . . Edited by Edward W. Weidner

The Tail That Wags the Dog

Mississippi Counties Dominant Local Unit

THE 1950 Census shows 72 per cent of Mississippians living in rural areas. The state, with a 1950 population of 2,178,914, has only one city of over 50,000—the capital city of Jackson with 100,000 inhabitants. In 1950 there were 54 cities of 2,500 or more population. Total population of these urban places was only 607,914. The rural complexion of the state combined with organization on the Virginia county model continues to highlight the county as the dominant local government unit.

The state is divided into 82 counties, each composed of five supervisory districts. Only one county has taken advantage of the statutory option of operating road systems on a county unit basis. The clinging to an extreme of local home rule leads to criticism that for all practical purposes the state has 400 "counties," rather than 82. Municipal dwellers are not exempt from the county system since all cities lie within one or more county districts.

The state is without any form of effective home rule. The five county supervisors are elected from their individual districts. As a board of supervisors they have general jurisdiction over county affairs. But, except for the one true unit system county, each supervisor manages road operation within his district. Several more counties, however, are moving toward the unit system, especially for capital improvements. The citizen of the local county district is likely to view his supervisor as the closest representative of government. His feelings of loyalty or antagonism are intensified by the need for farm-to-market roads which the supervisor largely maintains. The supervisors, as a county board, are confronted with three major elected officials: chancery clerk, sheriff–tax collector and tax assessor. The chancery clerk also serves as auditor, treasurer and clerk to the board of supervisors. The ballot is lengthened by the circuit clerk, county attorney and justices of the peace with their accompanying constables. Fourteen counties have created county courts, but in doing so they have not been permitted to abolish justice of the peace courts. To make matters more confusing boards of supervisors in many counties employ private attorneys as counselors rather than use the elected county attorney. The boards and segments of the public plead that the elected attorneys are not sufficiently competent to act as legal advisors. The county attorney is relegated to prosecuting attorney for the most part.

The office of chancery clerk is the focal point of county administration. The clerk's administrative and fiscal functions are large, but unfortunately he must devote much of his energies to court duties, which supply the bulk of the income of his combined offices. By all odds chancery clerks are the most respected of county officials. It is a rule of thumb that an honest and efficient clerk is the strongest guardian of the local treasury. The common complaint of the clerks is that the diversity of their several offices prevents their doing the best total job. Perennial attempts to separate the offices of sheriff and tax collector flounder on the bulwarks of the "fee system." All county officials except tax assessors, supervisors, county attorneys and county judges are compensated through many and diverse fees. Sheriff–tax collectors, unlike other county offi-

cials, may not be elected for consecutive terms. This restriction, together with reliance on tax-collecting fees for the major source of office income, makes many sheriffs inefficient, if not unwilling, law enforcers.

Many sheriffs urge the separation of the two offices. These advocates of reform would normally prefer this separation after they left office, for the legislature is not overly generous in establishing county salary schedules.

State attempts to regulate county affairs are weakened by the barriers of traditional love of local self-government and the entrenched "fee system." The voter's wish to retain the maximum of local self-government is often in opposition to his expressed desire for efficiency when the facts of the state-local arrangement in Mississippi are faced. His praiseworthy attachment to local self-rule is reinforced by the local officeholder's pecuniary interest in retention of an outmoded method of conducting local government.

Moves to reorganize the structure of county government, so as to provide more efficiency while retaining essential rights of the voter, meet the hard question of which offices will be eliminated. Reorganization in Mississippi, as elsewhere, may become less a question of proper structure and more one of whose ox will stand goring most quietly.

The state has become in part a tax-collecting agency for the counties. In 1952 the state's general revenue totaled $154,944,000, of which 24.7 per cent was revenue received from the federal government. In the same year the state returned to local governments $61,080,000, of which $48,588,000 went to the counties. The largest portion of this return was for the road systems managed by the district supervisors. Fortunately, the state some years ago created a state department of audits which makes annual audits of all county operations.

The combination of supervision of a large bulk of state-collected revenues and the relative secrecy of the "fee system" tends to make many county officials impervious to public clamor. State law requires that county fee officials submit annual reports on their receipts and disbursements to the secretary of state, an elected official. Lack of effective enforcement of the law has led to its virtual disuse. A sheriff–tax collector with an annual income, after payment of his employees, of $30,000 is hesitant to reveal the "pay" of the job to the voters. What are some of the results of this pattern of local government? First the counties are divided into areas too small for effective road building and maintenance. Supervisors compete with each other for available revenue with little reference to over-all county needs.

Sheriff–tax collectors, with only one term of office, concentrate on collection of taxes and neglect the police function. Where law enforcement is pushed, it is for the most part a stand-off between the untrained and poorly staffed sheriff's office and the law violators.

Officials Like Fee System

Each fee official dislikes surrendering functions which return revenue to his office. Recommendations to combine the circuit and chancery clerks and create an effective fiscal officer with the present chancery clerk's fiscal and administrative duties collapse when cutting the "fee pie" is approached. Moves to abolish the justice of the peace system are legion. Yet it would be a brave rural legislator who would want his name on the "bill." Back home are five justices of the peace and their constables. These, together with their families and friends, make a healthy voting bloc in a county of a few thousand population.

What can be done to change from such a system to one more suited to present conditions and needs? Certainly not academic studies of the problem alone. Twenty years ago the state

launched an exhaustive study of the entire structure of state-local government. The Brookings Institution report came to many conclusions and recommendations. The report was shelved by the legislature because of the state's lack of readiness to accept such bitter medicine unattractively packaged. Failure to sell the report to the people contributed to its rejection. Further, its attempt to solve all problems in one bite created few friends but many enemies.

The chances for reorganization of county affairs are much better now. Creation of strong statewide business and citizen groups has been accomplished. Reorganization is in the air. County officials are now banded together in state associations. These associations may look long and carefully at attempts to change the setup. But they have brought county officials together and serve as forums to inject new ideas. Many county officials see the clumsiness of the structure of government in which they must work. The combination of an increasing number of thoughtful county officials and forceful citizen groups will certainly bring changes in old ways of doing county business.

S. R. Jeffers

Jackson, Mississippi

St. Louis Metropolitan Sewer Plan Approved

At a special election on February 9, the voters of St. Louis and St. Louis County approved by majorities of three to one the creation of a Metropolitan St. Louis Sewer District.[1] The six-member board of trustees will be appointed by the mayor of St. Louis and the supervisor of St. Louis County before March 15. The district will acquire title to all sewer facilities in the city and the populous parts of the county on July 1. The date upon which the district will take over actual operations must be determined by resolution of the board of trustees.

The citizens committee which conducted an active campaign on behalf of the plan was made up of representatives of civic organizations, business institutions, labor unions, both major political parties, schools and churches. The mayor of St. Louis expressed gratitude that the results of the election would afford the people of the city and county their first opportunity to work together in solving a major metropolitan problem. He said: "I hope that this is just the first step in a continuing program of area-wide efforts to seek metropolitan solutions to many of our complex problems of the day."

The plan for the new metropolitan sewer district was drafted by a board of freeholders representing both the city and the county. A significant feature of the plan provides "for the functional administration of other services common to the area within the district when authorized by amendment to this plan."

William N. Cassella, Jr.

Counties Set Up Urban Districts under Two State Laws

The legislatures of both California and North Carolina last year gave counties authority to set up special or urban districts outside incorporated areas, where such areas are in need of urban services.

Until passage of the California law, counties have been furnishing services to unincorporated urban areas in that state from taxes collected from incorporated municipalities as well as the unincorporated areas. This practice has brought violent protests from the cities.[1]

The measure sets forth a complete procedure for establishing county service areas, for determining the extent to which municipal-type services are already

[1]See the Review, January 1954, page 43.

[1]See the Review, January 1951, page 44.

provided, for determining the nature and costs of services to be provided and for abandonment of such areas if desired. Proceedings may be initiated by the board of supervisors or by a petition signed by not less than 10 per cent of the registered voters in the area to be served. Services include fire and police protection, parks and recreation, road construction, libraries, public health and numerous others.

The need for urban services in built-up areas outside city limits has resulted in a number of campaigns to create special districts in counties of North Carolina. According to *Popular Government,* published by the Institute of Government of the University of North Carolina, one such district, the first under Chapter 69 of the General Statutes, was created north of Greensboro in December. Residents of the district voted almost ten to one in favor of its formation. Shortly thereafter a second district was created in an adjacent area. These districts are officially labeled fire districts.

Union County and Buncombe County have been considering enlarging or creating sanitary districts to provide services for suburban areas within their boundaries. Under Article 6 of Chapter 130 of the General Statutes such districts may perform a wide variety of municipal-type functions.

Maryland Counties Zone for Industry

In 1953 the Maryland legislature extended the act enabling every county in the state to set up a planning and zoning commission[1] and many counties have begun work on new zoning ordinances and subdivision regulations.

Talbot County has become the first on the eastern shore to have a county-wide zoning ordinance. It was enacted in May 1953 after twenty months of study by the planning and zoning commission. The county is now making an industrial site survey to determine what type of industry it needs and which would be the best sites for the location of new industry.

Anne Arundel County has rezoned much of its area as industrial or commercial since it is being drawn increasingly into the Baltimore metropolitan industrial area. Another county with a suburban problem is Howard County, which finds it has a continual increase in the number of commuters from both Baltimore and Washington, D. C., who are building homes in its territory.

Harford County has drawn up an interim zoning ordinance pending completion of a master plan for future development.

[1]Chapter 19, Laws of Maryland, 1953.

Grand Rapids and Kent County Make Fire Compact

The city of Grand Rapids and Kent County, Michigan, have recently drawn up a contract for mutual cooperation in fighting fires. Under the agreement the city will send equipment to fight fires at county institutions outside the city at a given rate per hour. At the present time Kent County pays the city the actual cost of sending equipment to fires. The new contract is based on the total annual city fire budget and takes in such matters as the depreciation of fire department equipment.

Kentucky Aids Counties on Reassessments

The Kentucky State Department of Revenue has now given reassessment aid to fourteen counties. This has been done under a law passed in 1950, which provides that counties may petition the department for reappraisal of their assessments. In the case of six projects, contracts were let with private firms to conduct the property value study. In other instances the projects have been conducted by the state. In most cases the surveys have been paid for entirely out of state funds, but in a few of the

wealthier counties the work has been jointly financed.

Many Wisconsin Counties Decrease Taxes

Property tax rates for Wisconsin seem to be leveling off. Thirty-four county boards have voted lower levies to finance budgets for 1954; 36 have made increases, many of them rather small; and one made no change.

The *Wisconsin Tax News,* published by the Public Expenditure Survey of Wisconsin, comments that the new budget law of 1953 was partly responsible for taxes leveling off: "Following the urging of taxpayer organizations the local budget law was strengthened to provide that all surplus funds and balances be recorded in budget documents. Apparently this change has had the effect of putting an increased amount of idle funds to work and thus of confining local government demands more closely to essentials."

Los Angeles County Adopts New Recruiting Devices

A vigorous recruiting drive by Los Angeles County was put into effect when the county found itself short some 471 engineers on a huge program to design and build storm drains. Specifically, the county has adopted five measures which differ considerably from the usual procedures of public service recruitment, says the Civil Service Assembly:

1. The county decided to go directly to colleges and universities in search of promising engineering graduates.

2. It took note of the fact that students applying for professional jobs find written tests an encroachment on their study time and shun taking them, especially since they can get good jobs without that bother.

3. It prepared promotional literature to show prospective employees the advantages of living in the Los Angeles area and working for the county.

4. It recognized that few students have enough money to make long trips for interviews with supervisors in the hope of getting a good job, while many are glad to accept an offer made when they are in school.

5. It sent on recruiting assignments the best qualified and best informed persons available.

The Engineering Recruitment Service of the County Civil Service Commission has now ended a year's operation, which has been considered a success.

Kansas County Clerks Hold School

A School for County Clerks was held at the University of Kansas last January, sponsored jointly by the Governmental Research Center of the university and the County Clerks Association. It covered a wide variety of topics, including the question of the clerks' political and administrative responsibility and the question of county government reorganization.

The December 15 issue of *Your Government,* bulletin of the Governmental Research Center, outlines rather extensively the case for the county manager plan in Kansas. Following this up, one of the dinner meetings of the conference was devoted to the topic of reform in county government, including administrative change.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

New South Wales Provides P. R. for Municipalities

Elections Held in Sydney, 136 Other Communities

ON NOVEMBER 10, 1953, an act to provide for the use of either proportional representation or the alternative vote system in all local elections in the Australian state of New South Wales became law. Previously, only the town of Armidale used P.R. The new law applies to the 240 municipalities and shires (rural districts) within New South Wales. In 137 of these, mostly municipalities, where three or more members are chosen in an election district, P.R. is provided. In the remaining 103 areas, mostly shires, where only one or two persons are chosen at a time, the alternative vote system, called preferential voting in Australia, is provided.

More extensive changes were made for electing the city council of Sydney, the state capital and largest city. There the ten wards, which formerly returned three aldermen each, were eliminated and the total membership of the council was reduced from thirty to twenty. These twenty are chosen by P.R. on an at-large basis on a single ballot. The mayor of Sydney, previously selected by the council, is now elected by popular vote by means of preferential voting. Elections under the new law were held throughout New South Wales on December 5 and will be reported in a forthcoming issue of the REVIEW.

Prior to this election, local elections were conducted by ordinary plurality voting, using X-marks.

Democrats Poll 51.7% of N. Y. Votes; Seat 92% of Candidates

Since proportional representation dropped out of the picture in New York, two city councils have been elected under the plurality system and the first has now completed its four-year term. The election of the second council on November 3, 1953, provides an opportune occasion for assessing the choice of legislators under the district system.

The most arresting fact is that the Democrats, whose mayoralty candidate polled something less than a majority, seated 92 per cent of their councilmanic candidates with a bare majority of the votes. The table below tells the story.

Certainly these figures prove that the

NEW YORK CITY COUNCILMANIC ELECTION, NOVEMBER 3, 1953

Party	*Votes Total*	*Percentage of Votes*	*Council Seats Earned*	*Seats Actually Obtained*	*Percentage of Seats Obtained*
Democrats	1,057,543	51.7%	12.9	23[a]	92%
Republicans	596,425	29.2%	7.3	2[a]	8%
Liberals	339,515	16.6%	4.2	0[a]	0
American Labor	51,315	2.5%	0.6	0	0
Totals	2,044,798	100.0%	25.0	25	100%

[a]One of the two Republicans and two of the Democrats elected were endorsed by the Liberals. One of the Democrats elected was endorsed by the Republicans.

Democratic leaders who initiated the campaign for repeal of P.R. in 1947 knew precisely what they were about. In five P.R. elections, from 1937 to 1945, their candidates never won more than 66.5 per cent of the seats—and to obtain these they had to poll approximately 65.5 per cent of the vote. In 1949, the first year councilmen were elected under the district system, they made almost a clean sweep—obtaining 96 per cent of the seats with 52.6 per cent of the vote. This year's results may be likened to a second dividend on the investment they made in the P.R. repealer campaign six years ago.

The Republicans gained slightly. In the last election they seated one candidate with 21.6 per cent of the vote. This year, with 29.2 per cent of the votes, the minority party in New York elected two councilmen—8 per cent of the total. In addition one reelected Democratic incumbent was endorsed by Republicans as well as Democrats. Now the minority leader will not have to rely on Democrats to second his motions. Nevertheless, it is hardly likely that a minority of two will prove more effective than a minority of one.

No Liberals Elected

Although they received more than a third of a million votes, not one of the Liberals' nominees was elected. This bitter pill was slightly sweetened by the fact that one Republican and two Democrats whom they endorsed and gave places on their line were elected. Each of these three, however, could have won easily this time without Liberal endorsement, a fact they are hardly likely to overlook. All told, the Liberal party polled one-sixth of the councilmanic vote; yet it is excluded from direct representation in the city legislature.

The most telling argument in the anti-P.R. campaign of 1947 was that it had given the Communists representation in the city council. This year the party did not even offer candidates. The left-wing American Labor party, which endorsed an avowed Communist in the 1949 councilmanic race, obtained only 2.5 per cent of the total vote this year and elected no one. Even if P.R. had remained in effect, none of its candidates would have been seated. For the smallest number of ballots that ever elected a candidate in New York's P.R. elections was 39,052 (except for the borough of Richmond, which contains a relatively small proportion of the city's population and elects a single councilman). But the most votes the A.L.P. could muster in any one borough was 20,540. These returns demonstrate that it was unnecessary to discard P.R. to remove the left-wingers from the city council. The voters would have repudiated them under any electoral system.

Since World War II, a great mass migration has taken place out of the centers of our cities into outlying districts and suburbs. In New York, which shared this trend, the political district lines which were drawn a decade ago did not reflect this population movement. So it happened that 404,000 votes were cast for councilmen in Manhattan and six were elected; in the fast-growing borough of Queens the candidates for council received 453,000 votes, but only four councilmen were elected. In the current session of the council, the average Manhattan legislator will represent 67,000 voters, his counterpart in Queens 113,000.

Within individual constituencies the differences were even more pronounced. One Manhattan district polled an aggregate of 45,000 votes, while the voting machines in two Queens districts registered 128,000 and 143,000 respectively. A defeated candidate in Queens obtained 46,000 votes, more than 15 candidates out of the 25 successful candidates obtained that day.

The reapportionment passed late in 1953 will iron out the worst of these discrepancies, but if the state has to wait another 26 years for the next redistrict-

(Continued on page 155)

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Bid to End Local Tax Immunity Halted

House Committee Decides Not to Alter Reciprocity

PROPOSALS of the House Ways and Means Committee, to limit the traditional intergovernmental tax immunity by making the interest on future issues of certain local and public housing authority bonds subject to federal income taxes, had undergone drastic change by mid-February, when the committee announced abandonment of the proposals. The original recommendations, made at the beginning of the present session of Congress, had been that so-called local industrial-aid bonds, when secured solely by rentals etc. from the industrial concerns occupying the plants, be subject to the income tax and that local housing authority bonds be similarly treated. In neither case would bonds already outstanding or authorized be affected.

The proposal as to the housing bonds was opposed by public housing groups, which pointed out that the tax exemption feature is an important factor in holding costs at a level which permitted effectuation of the low-rent policies of public housing. Further, since the federal subsidy payments are based on cost factors, the additional federal income resulting from taxation of the interest on the bonds would have been offset by the added cost in subsidies.

The proposal as to industrial aid bonds was opposed as a matter of principle by most of the associations of state and local officials and governmental units, which feared it might be an entering wedge for recurrent efforts to make all state and local bonds subject to the federal income tax.

Industrial aid bonds have been used mainly in the south, where plants have been constructed with public credit to attract manufacturing industry as part of "balance agriculture with industry" programs. Over the last several years the use of so-called revenue bonds for the purpose has attracted wide attention. These have been secured not by the full faith and credit and taxing power of the issuing community but solely by a lien on the plant rentals, usually based on long-term leases with manufacturing concerns.

The use of revenue bonds for such purposes, and in fact the use of the public credit in any form, has been censured by various groups in the local government finance field[1] and the committee's recommendations reportedly were the result of criticism by New England groups of this "unfair competition" for industry.

The Ways and Means Committee, in dropping its recommendations that the two classes of bonds be made taxable as to future issues, proposed alternatively that the income tax laws be amended to provide that rentals paid by concerns on plants built with industrial aid bonds should not be deductible by such concerns in computing their taxable income. Said Chairman Daniel A. Reed of the committee, such action "will correct the same evil against which the original amendment was directed and will do so more effectively."

The two proposals originally made by the committee were of immediate concern to groups interested in the preservation of the tax-free status of state and local government bonds because such groups feared the recommendations raised the likelihood of another prolonged battle

[1]See the REVIEW, January 1952, page 50.

in Congress over the whole matter of tax immunity. Had the committee implemented the recommendations by causing appropriate bills to be introduced, some observers saw the possibility of extended litigation to clarify at least two constitutional features of the problem.

Foremost, of course, was the possibility of a reexamination by the courts of the whole question of intergovernmental tax immunity. Marshall's famous *dicta*, paraphrased generally as "The power to tax is the power to destroy," was delivered, it must be recalled, in *McCulloch v. Maryland*, in which the power of a state to tax a federal instrumentality was at issue and the main question was the implied powers of Congress. The doctrine of reciprocal tax immunity which flowed from this case has been by no means a placid stream. In general, over the years the courts have construed the doctrine strictly to prevent any state taxation impinging on federal activities but have inquired more broadly into the precise circumstances and the impact of the tax when the levy was made by the federal government.

The Saratoga Spa Case

In the most recent case, in fact, that involving New York's Saratoga Spa, decided by the Supreme Court in 1946, a federal excise tax on the bottled water sold by a state agency was upheld. The present tax exemption of state and local bonds is statutory, and there are some authorities at least who profess inability to foresee the result should there occur contemporaneously a full-dress argument before the highest court on the constitutional question.

A secondary question, sure to have gotten before the courts had the committee's recommendations as to taxation of interest on industrial aid bonds been enacted, was the judicial construction of "governmental" as contrasted with "proprietary" functions. For more than a century the tendency of the courts to take a narrow view of local governmental activities, particularly in the fiscal field, had been an impediment to the effective assumption of responsibility at the local level.

Such a narrow view was expressed in the judicial predilection to apply the property tax as a test in determining whether a function was a proper governmental one. Such a test might have been appropriate in the days when the general property tax yielded the great bulk of state and local income, but it became nonsensical when the use of other revenues became widespread. None the less, the test persisted to the present generation, and has been repudiated by the Supreme Court only in the last fifteen years. (In the Saratoga Spa case, Mr. Justice Stone wrote: "We regard as untenable the distinction between governmental and proprietary activities.") The proposal to tax the industrial aid bonds was made, however, not only on the basis of the type of local government activity which they were issued to finance but, even more importantly, on the basis of the type of instrument used—a revenue bond as contrasted with a general obligation or "tax" bond.

The committee's experience appears to demonstrate again that the several aspects of intergovernmental tax immunity cannot successfully be tackled piecemeal. The industrial aid bond, whether revenue or general obligation, does raise special problems of tax avoidance, but so does the whole matter of tax exemption of state and local evidences of indebtedness. So, also, does the vast immunity of the federal government from taxation of its great real estate holdings as well as on industrial properties and materials ostensibly federally-owned but actually in the possession of private concerns.

Obviously, what is called for is a thorough study by qualified students sufficiently informed to see the whole

problem, and to see it in a perspective undistorted by sectional or political considerations.

Study on Intergovernmental Relations Gets under Way

A deep and comprehensive inquiry into the ramifications of mid-twentieth century fiscal and administrative problems, as they penetrate and interact vertically through federal, state and local government, appeared imminent last summer when Congress enacted the legislation to create the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

Delays in staffing the committee—sixteen persons are said to have declined the chairmanship before an acceptance was secured—made it evident that no more than a preliminary report would be available by March 1, the reporting date under the statute. More disappointing, however, has been the severely restricted scope of inquiry as indicated thus far by press reports of the committee's activities. Hence, the March 1 report to Congress will be awaited eagerly by those interested in local governmental aspects of the problem, especially for what it may indicate as to the fields in which the commission intends to employ its effort.

So far, four fields have received prominent mention by the press as being the matters of most pressing concern to the committee. They are: federal aid for highways, disaster relief, administration of unemployment compensation, and payments by the federal government in lieu of taxes to local governments, the subcommittee to study the latter reportedly now being organized.

The commission's initial inquiries are in the form of so-called "impact studies," to be made in five states under contract by private management research organizations and to require about three months each. According to press reports, the studies will be made in Kansas, Michigan, Mississippi, Washington and Wyoming. The studies will concentrate on the effect on the states and their local units of some 22 federal aid programs.

The committee's slow start was more or less inevitable in the light of the wide scope and complexity of the subject. The chairman, Dr. Clarence E. Manion, former dean of the School of Law of Notre Dame University, was criticized as having been too active in accepting speaking engagements after his appointment in which he expressed sentiments antagonistic to established conceptions of the federal structure in the United States. The chairman reportedly was asked for his resignation and it was submitted and accepted February 17. Whether a change in the chairmanship will further delay the committee's work remains to be seen.

Reassessment Almost Pleases Taxpayers

When Erie, Pennsylvania, shifted the basis of assessing property in the city from a 1932 price level to a 1953 price level, the assessed valuation rose 130 per cent, from $165,000,000 to $380,000,000. Newspapers and the city government kept the property owners informed of the reasons for bringing the city's tax base up to date, however, and according to the National Association of Assessing Officers appeals were filed on only about 3,000 parcels out of a total of 38,000.

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Teenagers Urged to Civic Effort

Speaker Issues Challenge to High School Audience

EDITOR'S NOTE: The article below is the address of Former Governor of New Jersey Charles Edison, chairman of the Council of the National Municipal League, before the student body of John Marshall High School in Richmond, Virginia. The address was made November 11, 1953, during the National Conference on Government of the League, held in that city.

HOW fortunate you and I are that we live in a land in which we are citizens first and soldiers second. May it ever be so. And it will be, provided you and I and all of us accept our civic responsibilities. In these perilous times, military training is necessary. But training for citizenship is even more necessary.

Civic competence is not something that you just acquire, like a new watch, when you reach the ripe old age of 21. Like any other skill that is worth anything, it requires practice—and more practice—and it is never too early to start.

In these important days in which you are laying the foundations of your house of life, be sure you build firmly and soundly. The education you are receiving is offered both for your own good and for that of the state. Thomas Jefferson combined these two reasons for the importance of public education in one sentence: "No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness."

The great truth here is that in our country active citizenship is part and parcel of the full life; consequently, public education has no meaning unless it is education for the life of the active citizen. So, take all that you can from the education which is offered and remember that with the privilege of education comes civic responsibility. Upon you in a few short years will be thrust the full responsibilities of world leadership. But you cannot lead the world unless you can first lead your own home town.

High adventure is not limited to the battlefield or exploration of new lands. Adventures in politics—in good government—can be as exciting as those in the fields of sport and combat. And they can serve a much higher purpose. Some of you may regret that you were born too late in Virginia's history to fight the redcoats with Washington, to explore the west with Lewis and Clark, or to fly to the poles with Richard Byrd.

I assure you, nevertheless, that the opportunity for adventure is never lost. Only its method of expression changes from one generation to another. Let me offer you what has been called "the endless adventure of governing men." Only recently Governor Dewey was quoted as saying that politics is the most challenging and difficult of the sciences.

Politics is just as interesting as people are interesting, as various as people are various, as old as the pyramids and as new as this morning's paper. Politics is something you can watch—it is all around you all the time. How did this school building get here? By votes of the people, by bonds and taxes, by school boards and building inspectors, by licensed architects—in other words by government, by politics.

Have the decisions on street paving, sewage disposal, welfare and all the other governmental functions been well made? What do you think? If so, you will want to support and defend those who have done the good work. If not, you will say "it is time for a change."

Politics is part of your life and of

mine. Don't be afraid to play the great game. I invite you to "come in, the water's fine!" Form opinions on political matters, even though you can't yet vote. See to it that your opinions are heard. If your ideas have merit, those who are of age to cast a ballot will listen and translate what you propose. In the give and take of opinion formulation you will exert immediate influence and get valuable exercise for future political activity.

Ways to Help

No one is entitled to claim exemption from the universal draft for active citizenship. It doesn't matter whether you already have decided to be doctor, lawyer, merchant—I won't conclude the rhyme! If you cannot devote your whole time to politics, you can devote spare time to it. No party ever has as many workers as it wants. The political parties need people of varying talents—people who can write, speak, type, drive cars—and even baby-sit. You can help and so influence your country to make it a finer and better place in which to live.

Registration and get-out-the-vote drives are tailor-made for youthful participation. So are certain other projects. Have you ever thought what useful citizens you might be if you were to become solicitors for the Community Chest? Inter-high school competition on solicitation in a block-by-block canvass would be a stimulating activity; and I am willing to venture that you would put your elders to shame in "going over the top."

The League of Women Voters conducts "Know Your Town" studies in which students your age sometimes help as the field men who gather and analyze facts about their town's government. Participation in such an effort is the finest way to find out how things are really run. You have to know your facts before you can be politically effective. Loyalty to truth is in the finest American tradition.

For those of you who want to prepare for politics or concern with government as a life work let me urge you to inquire into the fine college courses available to you. Scholarships and fellowships are increasingly being provided for those interested in government service. If your vocational counselor wants assistance, or if you want to handle the problem by yourself, write the National Municipal League for information.

Get to know the National Municipal League as I did when I returned to New Jersey from Washington, after a tour of duty as Secretary of the Navy. When the people of my state elected me governor, it was to the League that I turned for help and advice. If you are going to be an effective citizen you must have information. Get in the habit of using the resources available to you at the National Municipal League and other national, state and local organizations working in the public interest.

Georgia has pioneered in extending the right to vote to eighteen-year-olds. This is a subject that you young people should debate among yourselves. It is a controversial subject, with much to be said on either side. Learn the facts for yourself—take a position—and then work earnestly to win your objective, whether that be for or against granting the right to vote to eighteen-year-olds.

We have only to look to history to realize that any great cause worth fighting for is not impossible of achievement. Property qualifications for voting, for instance, once were common, and such stalwarts of the "Old Dominion" as Marshall, Monroe, Madison and Randolph once stoutly upheld them. In most of the states they are no more. Then, too, it is not so many years that women have had the right to vote.

These are provocative and challenging times in which we live. I envy you the opportunity for greatness that lies be-

fore you. The American system has met every attack with the vitality of youth. Don't listen to those who predict futility and failure for your efforts. When you are tested you will not be found wanting. It is only the challenge and the test that bring out the best in a people.

One of my predecessors in the governor's office in New Jersey, who later became president of the United States, was born in Staunton. At a young age he wrote on his visiting cards "Thomas Woodrow Wilson, Senator from Virginia." Don't be afraid to dream greatly and then to put forth the effort to make those dreams a reality. It may be that a statesman, in the tradition of the young "senator" who became president instead, sits with us today.

CHARLES EDISON

Chicago Citizens Complete First Year

Citizens of Greater Chicago, formed a year ago, have won the praise of the *Chicago Daily News*. An editorial, dated December 14, reads:

"The Citizens of Greater Chicago came into being on a wave of public indignation over lawlessness in Chicago. The murder of Charles Gross was the spark that ignited long-smoldering resentment over the many defects in civic and governmental affairs.

"Too often, reform movements of this nature lose their momentum when it develops that improvements do not come about with a few luncheons and inspirational speeches. The CGC, we are glad to report, shows no signs of this creeping apathy.

"At its annual meeting last week, it was announced that membership of civic organizations which send delegates has grown in one year from 54 to 225. It is well financed, despite erroneous reports to the contrary. It has a concrete, practical program.

"Its principal immediate objectives are reform of the city charter and reorganization of the state's judicial system. Substantial progress has been made toward these goals. Most importantly, it recognizes that sustained effort is required to bring about such far-reaching changes.

"The CGC thus becomes one of the most hopeful developments to rise on the Chicago horizon in decades. Its influence will grow with success, and we venture to forecast that the day will come when association with its early efforts will be a badge of honor in Chicago citizenship."

Chicago Activities

Two recent leaflets from the Chicago group tell its story. One, a folder of six pages, describes the organization's method of operation and lists all its member organizations; the other, *The Significance of Senatorial Reapportionment*, discusses the "dictatorship of minority" and points up the need for reapportionment.

The first annual report of the group's executive director, Fred K. Hoehler, was presented at the annual meeting in December. It lists numerous activities, reporting on the work of the field staff, education programs set up, discussion groups developed, number of publications distributed, legislation worked for (including a bill providing amendments to the city charter which, though it failed to pass, secured great editorial support), first delegates assembly, and the CGC's role in the November "get-out-the-vote campaign." On the latter, the report points out that 310,000 tabs, "I Will Vote November 3," were distributed via other organizations, business and manufacturing plants and volunteers. The latter distributed 48,000 tabs in the loop, at railroad and elevated stations on "Citizens Day," November 2.

Livonia Citizens Committee

Livonia, Michigan, boasts a 51-member Mayor's Advisory Committee, which is aiding the city in meeting the many

problems caused by its growth. Appointed in 1951, to study the policies and plans of the city government and offer suggestions, subcommittees of the larger group have investigated various phases of the city government. Many suggestions made by the committee have been accepted by the voters and public officials.

Rebirth for Two Groups

The Citizens Committee of San Antonio, Texas, which several years ago did yeoman service in securing the council-manager plan for the city, has recently been reorganized, "as a prelude to broadening its base and getting set for municipal contests to come," according to the San Antonio *News*. Sixty members of the organization heard Dr. Max E. Johnson, new chairman, call on them to remain "vigilant and alert and to defend the good government program against the selfish interests which are now throttling San Antonio."

The Hartford (Connecticut) *Courant*, in an editorial of January 14, comments, "It is too early to say that the Citizens Charter Committee has been reborn. But, under the leadership of John C. Parsons, it is struggling to be reborn. And if the outstanding good government Hartford has had for six years is to survive, it must be done. First is the fact that the CCC is using its recent defeat[1] as the occasion for more, not less, energy and activity. Second is the fact that it is simply not always true that, in American cities, reform flowers briefly and then dies."

Supporting Manager Plan

Prior to the Ferguson, Missouri, election on the council-manager plan, successfully concluded on February 2, the local League of Women Voters maintained a booth in a drug store where it dispensed information on the proposal. The league also conducted workshops which made a thorough study of forms of city government.

[1]The Hartford Citizens Charter Committee, for the first time since the council-manager plan went into effect, failed to elect a majority of the city's council at the November 1953 elections.

Civic Awards

Recipient of the third annual award presented by the LaGuardia Memorial Association, in honor of the late Fiorella LaGuardia, mayor of New York from 1934 to 1945, was deLessups Morrison, mayor of New Orleans, "in recognition of his constant and successful struggle to secure decent, responsible government for New Orleans despite seemingly overwhelming odds."

The City Manager Advocates of Brookfield, Illinois, received the annual Lane Bryant group award for 1953, because of the interest the organization took in improving the government of its small village. It worked eight years to form a stable government.

Edmund Orgill, chairman of the executive committee and board of directors of the Civic Research Committee of Memphis, Tennessee, has been named that city's outstanding citizen for 1953. The award, made by the Memphis Civitan Club, was "specifically for his work on the Civic Research Committee."

LWV Information Center

The League of Women Voters of Chicago, in 1953, created the Metropolitan Civic Information Service—a nonpartisan organization established to reach as many people as possible in the Chicago area with information on civic matters. "It is a center and source of basic, accurate and unbiased information concerning the citizen and his responsibility in the affairs of government," according to a six-page folder describing the organization. It makes election information available, provides original resource materials, publications, a

speakers bureau, personal information service and offers citizenship training.

Adult Education Aids

The Fund for Adult Education, with national offices in Pasadena, California, has presented its story in *The Challenge of Lifetime Learning.* Freely illustrated with photographs, on slick paper, the pamphlet tells of the accomplishments of the fund, created by The Ford Foundation in April 1951, "as an independent organization to advance and foster adult education. The fund was assigned as its special responsibility the improvement of methods and opportunities in that part of the educational process which begins when formal schooling is finished."

Recent issues of *Adult Leadership,* published by the Adult Education Association (Chicago), include pointers for those furthering adult education. That for October is devoted to "Social Inventions for Learning" and discusses such matters as finding time for citizenship, why social inventions?, learning through role playing. The November issue discusses a "Workshop on Handling Controversial Issues," and also publishes an article by Lyman Bryson on "The Meaning of Community Leadership." December's issue is devoted in part to a "Workshop on the Dynamics of Work Groups," with articles by H. L. Keenleyside on "Education or Catastrophe"; Paul L. Witty, "To Become a Better Reader"; and Sir Richard Livingstone, "The Quality of a Democracy."

The Council of National Organizations of the Adult Education Association has issued a *Program Guide—1954,* setting forth "current adult education activities and emphases of organizations participating in the council." It may be obtained from the council, Cooper Union, Fourth Avenue at 7th Street, New York 3.

Adult Education on the March is the report of the second year of AEA, featuring what has happened during the past year with "A Look into the Future."

Strictly Personal

The board of directors of the Citizens' Plan "E" Association of Worcester, Massachusetts, has elected Jeremiah F. Gallo as president. Mr. Gallo served as vice president during the previous year. He succeeds Thomas S. Green, Jr.

Francis V. Rudnicki has been chosen as the new membership secretary for the Municipal League of Seattle and King County.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 147)

ing, as it did between 1917 and 1943, they are bound to reappear. One of the features of P.R. as it was used in New York City was that it automatically reapportioned the members to the different boroughs at each election on the basis of the numbers of votes cast. The 1953 elections demonstrate once again that the district system in New York can and does create "rotten boroughs" and distortion of the will of the electorate in the political complexion of the legislature.

FREDERICK SHAW
Board of Education of the City of N. Y.

Massachusetts Legislature Upholds P. R.

The Massachusetts legislature, by a roll-call vote of 116 to 112, has approved a bill to permit cities which repeal or have repealed proportional representation voting to readopt the system by referendum after four years.

A bill to raise the number of signatures necessary for a P. R. repeal from 5 per cent back to the original 10 per cent of the voters was favorably reported by the Committee on Cities but defeated on the floor of the House of Representatives.

A bill to abolish P. R. for any city in the state, including those already using it, introduced in the House by Charles McGlue of Boston, former head of the Democratic State Committee, was defeated in both the Senate and the House.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Citizen Survey Methods Suggested

But Further Research Needed on Tools for Making Studies

AS citizen interest in the affairs of local government increases, a frequent question which is raised in the meetings of citizen groups is "How do I know whether my town is well run?" This query is often referred to the National Municipal League. If the local group making the inquiry is interested in a thorough-going administrative survey of a particular public function, or the over-all structure of the community's government, there are able consultants who conduct the type of survey desired.

A more difficult type of inquiry comes from the citizen group which wants a relatively simple yardstick or series of criteria upon which to judge the quality of public administration found in the home town. Often the inquiry suggests the possibility of comparing per capita expenditures or tax rates with those of other cities of comparable size. Immediately a warning must be sounded. As every researcher knows only too well, tax rates, assessed valuations, per capita revenues and expenditures have an illusory preciseness.

The complexity of the measurement problem can be seen by a glance at the standard work, *Measuring Municipal Activities—A Survey of Suggested Criteria for Appraising Administration,* by Clarence E. Ridley and Herbert A. Simon (International City Managers' Association, Chicago, 1943).

The criteria suggested by Ridley and Simon and the questions which they raise have served as guides for the more searching appraisals of public performance. However, many citizens want an introduction to the process of community appraisal. They want some tentative answers to their questions on whether or not their community is well run and well served. They want to point up quickly the weak spots which must be given more careful scrutiny.

Any preliminary survey must be designed to avoid erroneous conclusions drawn from unqualified statistical comparisons. Probably the most useful device is a relatively short check list designed to stimulate greater interest in public affairs and giving sufficient indication of the quality of the performance of governmental functions to suggest basic weaknesses.

Any number of such check lists have been prepared. One of the most recent appeared in the September 1953 number of *Changing Times—The Kiplinger Magazine* (page 12). Thirty-five questions based upon the International City Managers Association's *Check List on How Cities Can Cut Costs* (1949) highlights the most significant areas of local governmental activity. For a short list it contains a reasonable balance in emphasis between the standards of efficiency and adequacy in the performance of public functions. No attempt is made to construct an exact score for purposes of comparison. However, if many of the questions result in negative answers, deficiencies are readily apparent.

In its annual report published in 1947, the Municipal League of Seattle and King County presented yardsticks by which the citizens could measure the services being provided. These were used to compare Seattle with a composite of twelve other cities of similar size. In 1951 the same organization prepared a rating scale for community "diagnosis." In parallel columns it rated the standard of service and the comparative cost of

various governmental programs. A column headed "improvement needed" tended to highlight deficiencies. The risks inherent in such an evaluation were noted.

A *Scoreboard for Your Town* was prepared by the New York Citizens' Council in 1948. Ten "scoring standards," covering most phases of community life and government, were to be rated as good, fair or poor. Citizens using this scoreboard were encouraged to follow up with further study and surveys of the areas where weakness was indicated.

The Project on the American Community sponsored by New York University is in the process of preparing a "comparator" which is "a device for use by a community in measuring itself against a recognized norm, standard or national average." No extravagant claims are being made concerning the precision of the "comparator" as a measuring instrument. It is rather a "study-provoking and discussion provoking" technique for giving citizens the enlightening experience of gathering facts about their communities and encouraging more exhaustive local studies, alertness and concentrated concern upon the part of citizens and citizen groups with respect to community problems. "Comparator is not designed to be an end in itself, but a means to an end: the end being alert, intelligent and responsible citizens." Undoubtedly this device, when available, will prove useful to many citizen groups which are attempting to evaluate community services.

Surveys by Citizen Groups

Citizens in many communities have engaged in various self-surveys which have brought to light the facts of community life, the quality of governmental service and the need for sound future development. Among these are the surveys conducted by Connecticut towns and cities under the guidance of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council.

A remarkably thorough citizen study was carried on recently by the citizens of Port Angeles, Washington. The three-year-long self-survey of the Negro community of Shreveport, Louisiana, was an unusually significant demonstration of the capacity of citizens to engage in community self-appraisal. Both Port Angeles and Shreveport received 1953 All-America City Awards, partly as a result of the citizen effort which went into these surveys.

Leagues of Women Voters in cities in all parts of the nation have studied and reported upon the governments of their localities, following patterns set by the national office. Some of the L. of W. V. "Know Your Town" reports give a searching analysis of the performance of public functions and lead the way toward action to effect improvements.

From time to time local chambers of commerce have developed useful survey techniques. An *Outline for a Master Community Survey,* prepared by the Civic Development Department of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, would ordinarily require some paid staff work but includes many suggestions that could be carried out by volunteers.

Some years ago the Tax Foundation issued a series of civic guides to economy in municipal government, covering budgeting, purchasing, police and fire, public utilities, personnel and public welfare. State taxpayers' organizations also have prepared somewhat similar materials for the guidance of local taxpayer groups.

Although the presently available check lists, scoreboards, study techniques, etc., all assist the active citizen in answering some of the questions which occur to him, there is a distinct need for further research into the possibility of developing tools for citizens who are trying to evaluate their communities. These tools are needed to point the direction of more

concentrated effort. Often such preliminary evaluation must precede any comprehensive administrative studies.

It is to be regretted that many conscientious and completely well intentioned diagnostic and survey efforts have been reluctant to come to grips with issues involving government and politics. As a result social and economic conditions have been studied without reference to needed changes in public policy and the political and governmental climate in which it is made and executed.

There undoubtedly are other examples of citizen surveys which have stimulated improvement in the performance of the governmental functions.

The League is anxious to keep its files on research and experiments in the field as nearly up-to-date and complete as possible. All suggestions would be appreciated.

William N. Cassella, Jr.

Chicago Civic Federation Presents Budget Views

The statements made by representatives of the Civic Federation of Chicago at the 1954 budget hearings of the various local jurisdictions in metropolitan Chicago emphasized the need for various administrative reforms. The reorganization and strengthening of the Department of Finance of Chicago was urged. Consolidation of all Chicago Sanitary District fiscal administration in a proposed Department of Finance was recommended. The federation urged abolition of township collectors and transfer of their duties to the Cook County treasurer.

The eventual consolidation of Park District and city police forces was suggested. Immediate merger of police pension plans was urged as a first step. Park District personnel administration by the Chicago Civil Service Commission was recommended.

A single salary schedule for teachers in the Chicago schools has been advocated.

Bureau Note

The executive board of the Washington State Taxpayers Association has announced the opening of permanent headquarters for its research department at 1059 Capitol Way, Olympia, Washington.

Strictly Personal

Dr. George C. S. Benson, president of Claremont Men's College, Claremont, California, has been appointed research director of the Federal Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

Edward J. Steimel has been named assistant executive director of the Public Affairs Research Council, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. He has assumed the active direction of the council during the leave of absence of Dr. Robert W. French, who has been named vice president of Tulane University.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Annexation

Municipal Annexation of Territory—A Comparison of Principal Methods. By William O. Winter. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, *Michigan Municipal Review,* January 1954. 4 pp.

Billboards

Regulation of Billboards. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, November 1953. 27 pp.

Budgets

Check List for a Model Municipal Budget and its Comparison with the Worcester City Budget. Worcester, Massachusetts, Citizens' Plan "E" Association, 1954. 7 pp.

MUNICIPAL BUDGET MAKING AND ADMINISTRATION. By John Alexander McMahon. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, April 1952. 69 pp. $1.00.

POSSIBLE WORK UNITS. Prepared in conjunction with the development of a program budget for the town of Manchester. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, February 1953. 13 pp.

A REPORT ON WEST VIRGINIA MUNICIPAL AND COUNTY BUDGETS 1953. By Harold J. Shamberger. Morgantown, West Virginia University, Bureau for Government Research, 1953. 28 pp.

Business and Industry

LEGISLATION AFFECTING BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY IN SOUTH DAKOTA. By Robert F. Patterson. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, School of Business Administration, Business Research Bureau, May 1953. 39 pp.

Child Welfare

LET'S TALK ABOUT CHILDREN. A Review of Mississippi's Youth Court Act . . . How It Works . . . Why It Needs Wider Use. Jackson, Mississippi Economic Council, Committee on Social Legislation, April 1953. 11 pp.

Education

ANALYSIS OF RECENT CHANGES IN UTAH'S PUBLIC SCHOOL LAWS. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* January 1954. 6 pp.

EDUCATION. A CHALLENGE AND AN ANSWER FOR MISSISSIPPIANS. Jackson, Mississippi Economic Council, June 1953. 23 pp.

Federal-state Relations

FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONS IN UTAH. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, December 1953. 4 pp.

REALLOCATION OF FEDERAL-STATE FUNCTIONS AND TAX SOURCES. A Staff Report Outlining Four Alternative Programs and Indicating How Each Would Affect the Finances of the Federal Government and the State of New York. Albany 10, Empire State Chamber of Commerce, Department of Governmental Affairs, August 1953. 33 pp.

Hospitals

REPORT OF A STUDY OF MINNEAPOLIS GENERAL HOSPITAL. Prepared at the Request of Mayor Eric G. Hoyer. Minneapolis 2, Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis, August 1953. 62 pp.

Housing

STATE HOME OWNERSHIP PROGRAM RUNNING DEFICIT. (Connecticut's mortgage housing fund.) Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *CPEC Special Bulletin,* January 1954. 4 pp.

Legislative Committees

SIXTY INTERIM COMMITTEES. State Legislators Study Many Problems. By Frank Irwin. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* November 1953. 9 pp.

Licensing

STUDY OF ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURE BEFORE EXAMINING AND LICENSING BOARDS IN NORTH CAROLINA. By Max O. Cogburn and Ernest W. Machen, Jr. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, January 1953. 115 pp. $2.00.

Metropolitan Areas

WHERE'S FLINT GOING? The Metropolitan Area—A Look at Problems Confronting Flint and Its Neighbors. (A series of articles appearing in the Flint *Journal.*) Flint (Michigan), *The Journal,* 1953. 36 pp. Illus.

Motor Vehicle Insurance

FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN MOTOR VEHICLE ACCIDENTS. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, October 1953. 37 pp.

Personnel

EMPLOYEE TRAINING PAYS IN CINCINNATI. By Robert G. Sarvis. Chicago 37, American Public Works Association, *Public Works Engineers' News Letter,* January 1954. 3 pp.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT'S RECRUITING CRISIS. By Norman W. Bingham. London, N. W. 1, National and Local Government Officers Association, *Public Service,* December 1953. 2 pp.

Police

GEORGIA MUNICIPAL POLICE. A Study of Salaries and Working Conditions in Municipal Police Departments of Georgia. Athens, University of Georgia, Bureau of Public Administration, in Cooperation with The Peace Officers Association of Georgia. December 1953. 36 pp. $1.00.

Public Welfare

WASTEPROOFING WELFARE LEGISLATION. States Tighten Assistance Laws to Bar Unscrupulous and Undeserving. New York 20, The Tax Foundation, *Tax Review,* December 1953. 6 pp.

Reapportionment

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION. Toronto 5, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* December 9, 1953. 6 pp.

REAPPORTIONMENT IN MINNESOTA: DEMOCRACY DENIED. Minneapolis 3, League of Women Voters of Minnesota, November 1953. 22 pp. 20 cents.

Sewage Disposal

LEGAL ASPECTS OF SEWERAGE AND SEWAGE DISPOSAL. By Ernest H. Campbell. Seattle 5, Association of Washington Cities in cooperation with the University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, December 1953. 15 pp.

Social Security

SOCIAL SECURITY ENABLING ACT. By E. W. Busch. (Address before Annual Convention of the Illinois Municipal League.) Springfield, the League, November 1953. 3 pp.

State and Local Government

KNOW YOUR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN FLORIDA: A BRIEF SURVEY. By J. E. Dovell. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1953. 24 pp.

State Government

CLASSIFICATION OF THE FUNCTIONS OF STATE GOVERNMENT. (United States Bureau of the Census classifications as adapted to the administrative structure of the state of Montana.) By David W. Smith. Bozeman, Montana State University, Department of Political Science, December 1953. 5 pp.

AN OUTLINE OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH OF STATE ADMINISTRATION IN MONTANA. 1890-1953. By David W. Smith. Bozeman, Montana State University, Department of Political Science, September 1953. 34 pp.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF ADMINISTRATION. By Leonard H. Axe. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, *Your Government,* January 15, 1954. 4 pp.

State-local Relations

STATE-LOCAL CONFLICT CAN LEAD TO PROGRESS. State-county relations are basically human relations, and are approached in terms of attitudes. Differences can be resolved without needing to give up anything essential on either side. By Clint Burnes. Chicago 3, *Better Roads,* January 1954. 4 pp.

Taxation and Finance

ASSESSMENTS AND THE TAX PROBLEM. By Harold Riegelman. (Address before the New York Town Hall.) New York 17, Citizens Budget Commission, Inc., December 1953. 11 pp.

CALIFORNIA'S TAX SYSTEM. $2 Billion Plus Revenue in 1954. By J. Roy Holland and Donna D. Spragg. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* January 1954. 18 pp.

A "CAPITAL FINANCING GUIDE" FOR PHILADELPHIA? Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* January 25, 1954. 4 pp.

COUNTY FINANCES. A Fiscal Background for the Study of County Government in New Jersey. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, Inc., 1953. 12 pp.

Books in Review

THE STATES AND THE NATION. By Leonard D. White. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, 1953. x, 102 pp. $2.75.

This small volume contains the Edward Douglass White lectures delivered by Professor Leonard D. White at the Louisiana State University in the spring of 1953. These lectures were primarily intended to assess the place of the states in the American federation.

White views the background and present status of the states in the light of his long and varied experience both as teacher and as public official. He presents an interesting and graphic account of what he believes are the strengths and weaknesses of the states as partners in the federal system. To the vitality of this partnership he applies the test of Elihu Root, who said in 1909 that "if the powers of the states are to be preserved and their authority is to continue, the states must exercise their powers."

Being persuaded, as was Root, that "the only way to maintain the powers of government is to govern," White ventures to take a look at what the states can do in the next quarter century to improve their effectiveness and standing in the federation. He thinks that they should do something immediately "to clear out the constitutional and administrative rubbish of the last century," which continues to clutter up their several domains.

He believes that the states should make valiant and persistent efforts to modernize their structures and procedures and to raise their official capacities and personnel standards, if they are not to continue to lose power and influence to Washington. He thinks it is possible for the states to achieve a "new federal-state balance" by insisting on the return to the states of some functions now carried on or financed in whole or in part by the federal government, by modifying the federal grants to give more freedom of action to the states, by a wider use of the interstate compact idea to avoid going to Washington, and by making more energetic use of the powers the states already possess.

He is of the opinion that there should be a joint standing committee on federal-state relations for continuous review of federal-state problems, and a commission of inquiry to conduct a searching examination of American federalism (the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has since been established for this purpose).

And so White believes that "it is possible within limits to mold the shape of things to come" in revitalizing the state governments. If not, "the next quarter century promises to be one of strain and tension, conducive to the continued march of power away from the state capitals."

A. E. BUCK

TEXAS PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS IN 1952. By O. Douglas Weeks. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1953. 116 pp. Paper bound, $1.25; Cloth bound, $2.00.

This is a very comprehensive and tightly documented story of what happened in both political parties in Texas in 1952. It begins with discussion of presidential candidates, the unprecedented functioning of the precinct caucuses in both parties with large turnouts, the county conventions which selected delegates to the big state conventions choosing the delegates subject to the split-offs which sent up contesting delegates for a battle before the credentials committees. It exhibits clearly the influx of life-long Democrats into the skeleton Republican party, as permitted by the law, and the fraudulent methods that the latter some-

times used to turn aside that invasion. The tale is finished with the part which the Texas delegations, as finally seated, played in the national conventions and the pre-election campaign in the state.

The study is an elaboration of the necessarily condensed account of the same events which will be found later in the American Political Science Association's spacious compilation of similar reports from all the states due for publication in May 1954.

R. S. C.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

The Aged

Pertinent Facts on "Earning Opportunities for Mature Workers." (Kit compiled for the University of Michigan Sixth Annual Conference on Aging, July 8-10, 1953.) Ann Arbor, the University, 1953. Variously paged.

Annexation

Annexation??—City of Janesville, Wisconsin. Janesville, Office of the City Manager, 1953. 9 pp.

Shall the City of Janesville Expand Its Corporate Limits? A Report to the City Council on the Implications of Accepting or Rejecting Petitions Asking that the River Valley and South Janesville Areas be Annexed to the City. By Warren C. Hyde. Janesville, Wisconsin, Office of the City Manager, 1953. 15 pp.

Auditing

Audit Reports of Government Corporations and Agencies. Washington, D. C., Eighty-Third Congress, Senate Committee on Government Operations, 1954. 97 pp.

City Managers

Digest, City Managers' Conference, 1953. Sponsored by the Bureau of State and Community Service and the Colorado Municipal League. Boulder, the League, 1953. 9 pp.

Directory of Administrative Assistants to City Managers. (Reporting name, title, age, education, date appointed, annual salary.) Chicago 37, International City Managers' Association, 1954. 7 pp.

Constitutions

Your Rugged Constitution. By Bruce and Esther Findlay. Stanford (California), Stanford University Press, 1952. 282 pp. $1.00.

Education

Facts About School District Debt Limitations. Trenton, New Jersey State Federation of District Boards of Education, 1953. 7 pp.

Hints on Selling School Bonds. Trenton, New Jersey State Federation of District Boards of Education, 1953. 5 pp.

Let's Examine Our School Districts. Lincoln, Nebraska State Committee for the Reorganization of School Districts, 1953. 13 pp. Illus.

School Enrollment: October 1953. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1954. 10 pp. 10 cents.

The License Status of a Sampling of Social Studies Teachers in Indiana. Terre Haute, Indiana State Teachers College, 1953. 10 pp.

Federal Government

Activities of the Senate Committee on Government Operations. Washington, D. C., Eighty-Third Congress, Senate Committee on Government Operations, 1954. 14 pp.

Government Publications

A Popular Guide to Government Publications. By W. Philip Leidy. New York 27, Columbia University Press, 1953. xxii, 296 pp. $3.00.

Immigration

The Stranger at Our Gate—America's Immigration Policy. By Hubert H.

Humphrey, Jr. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1954. 28 pp. 25 cents.

Interstate Trade Barriers

BARRIERS TO THE INTERSTATE MOVEMENT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS BY MOTOR VEHICLE IN THE ELEVEN WESTERN STATES. By J. S. Hillman and J. D. Rowell. Tucson, University of Arizona, Agricultural Experiment Station, 1953. 47 pp.

Milk Control

MILK ORDINANCE AND CODE. 1953 Recommendations. Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Public Health Service, Division of Sanitation of the Bureau of State Services, 1953. 242 pp. 75 cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, Washington 25, D. C.)

Municipal Government

NATURE AND ORGANIZATION OF MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS IN KANSAS. By Nick N. K. Kittrie. Reprinted from *Kansas Law Review,* January 1953. Topeka, University of Kansas, Government Research Center, 1953. 21 pp.

Parking

CURB PARKING. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Transportation and Communication Department, 1953. 16 pp. Illus.

CHICAGO'S NEW OFF-STREET PARKING AND LOADING ORDINANCE. By Evert Kincaid. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* December 1953. 3 pp.

Personnel

CIVIL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION IN THE EMPIRE STATE. "According to Merit and Fitness." Albany, New York State Civil Service Commission, 1953. 28 pp. Illus.

GETTING DIVIDENDS FROM PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION. By Wallace S. Sayre, Austin J. Tobin and James P. Mitchell. Chicago 37, Civil Service Assembly, 1953. 17 pp. $2.00.

GUIDE TO PERSONNEL ACTIVITIES OF PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL ASSOCIATIONS. By Dorothy W. Otten. Chicago 37, Civil Service Assembly, 1953. 55 pp. $2.00.

Population

NUMBER OF INHABITANTS—U. S. SUMMARY. Totals for Regions, States, Cities, Metropolitan Areas. (Volume 1 of U. S. Census of Population: 1950.) By Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952. 84 pp. 40 cents.

Ports

PORT OF MILWAUKEE. Chicago, *World Ports,* March 1953. 7 pp.

Public Administration

A SHORT INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. New York 27, Columbia University Press, 1953. 20 pp. 30 cents.

Public Health

STATE LAWS GOVERNING LOCAL HEALTH DEPARTMENTS. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, Bureau of State Services, Division of State Grants, 1953. iv, 68 pp. 40 cents.

Public Opinion

PUBLIC OPINION AND STRIKES. By Allan Weisenfeld. (Reprinted from *Labor Law Journal,* July 1953.) Chicago, Commerce Clearing House, 1953. 13 pp.

TO VOTE OR NOT TO VOTE? "What Are the Opinions of Young People Regarding the Extension of the Voting Privilege to 18, 19 and 20 Year Olds?" An Opinion Survey Conducted for the Common Council by the Mayor's Committee on Children and Youth. Detroit, Michigan, The Committee, 1952. 31 pp.

Taxation and Finance

COMPARATIVE COSTS OF STATE GOVERNMENTS, 1948-1951. By Robert F. Steadman. Lansing 13, Michigan Department of Administration, Office of the Controller, 1953. 5 pp.

THE MUNICIPAL INCOME TAX—A JANUS IN DISGUISE. By Robert A. Sigafoos. Sacramento 8 (California), Na-

tional Tax Association, *National Tax Journal,* June 1953. 6 pp.

PROPERTY TAX TABULATIONS OF SELECTED CITIES. Manhattan (Kansas), Office of City Manager, 1954. 11 pp.

TOTAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES IN 1952. Princeton (New Jersey), Tax Institute Inc., *Tax Policy,* October 1953. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Traffic

THESE TRAFFIC FACTORS ARE INVOLVED IN INTERSECTION DESIGN. By Fred W. Hurd. Saugatuck (Connecticut), Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, Inc., *Traffic Quarterly,* July 1953. 14 pp.

TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS BUREAUS—NOTES, ORDINANCE AND RULE. Minneapolis 14, League of Minnesota Municipalities, Municipal Reference Bureau, Information Service, 1953. 17 pp.

Traffic Safety

OPERATION SAFETY. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for April 1954: CHILD PEDESTRIAN AND BICYCLE SAFETY. Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1954. Variously paged.

Units of Government

MINOR CIVIL DIVISIONS AND PLACES OF THE UNITED STATES: 1950. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1953. 4 pp.

FILIPINOS HOLD FREE ELECTION

(Continued from page 122)

public carriers. The substance of the articles was also disseminated by special features in the press. Volunteer help was relied upon for aiding at the headquarters, addressing envelopes and distributing literature. Coordinators were placed in charge of the different regions and, prior to the election, prepared provincial reports on those provinces where it appeared that election irregularities were most likely to occur. These reports pointed out that both major parties had in the past committed election code violations. The findings were released to the press, submitted to the Commission on Elections and furnished guidance for watchers on election day.

While the elections were not entirely free from violence and fraud, in all but a few of the nation's 28,072 voting precincts conditions were calm and peaceful on election day and during the count that followed. Five persons were killed in Cavite and fatalities were reported in two or three other provinces. In 1949, 24 persons were killed on election day. Cavite has a reputation for violence that goes back for centuries. Incomplete demobilization of guerrillas after the war, unemployment and corruption have perpetuated this tradition.

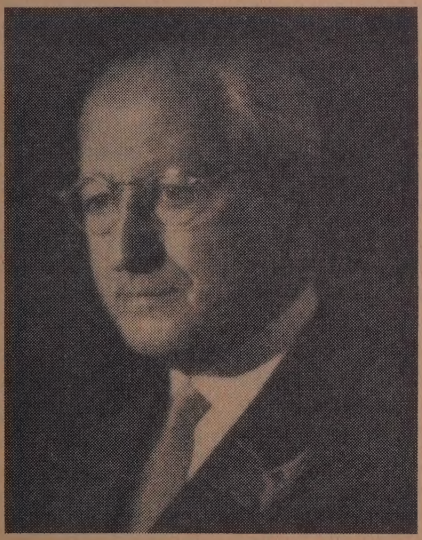
Ballots were snatched by force in ten precincts in Pasay, a suburb of Manila. As soon as the Commission on Elections and the Philippine constabulary could act, this situation was brought under control. Nacionalista candidates and voters were intimidated by provincial and local officials in Ilocos Sur, President Quirino's home province. These and a few other incidents were localized.

Everywhere else the voting was free. The Filipinos demonstrated to the world that they could bring about a change in administration by the peaceful method of the ballot box in spite of the limitations of their communications system and the powers of the executive that might be used to thwart the will of the people.

Pforzheimer Diamond Birthday

The 75th birthday of Carl H. Pforzheimer, for 32 years treasurer of the National Municipal League, was observed on January 29 with many tributes to one of the League's most devoted long-time friends.

At a birthday party in Mr. Pforzheimer's New York home, Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Executive Committee, presented a folder containing letters from eight of the National Municipal League's past and present officers—Lawson Purdy, George H. Gallup, Murray Seasongood, Harold W. Dodds, Henry Bruère, Richard S. Childs, Charles Edison and Alfred Willoughby.



Carl H. Pforzheimer

The letters expressed appreciation of Mr. Pforzheimer's service to the League. The party brought together 300 friends and associates of Mr. Pforzheimer. John F. Maloney, chairman of the Westchester County Council of Social Agencies, Inc., presented a "First Citizen of Westchester" tribute to Mr. Pforzheimer, who is treasurer of the Westchester group. The citation honored Mr. Pforzheimer's work on behalf of the Council. He was chairman of the Commission on Government, 1934-36, which guided the development of the Westchester County Charter.

Among many other tributes was a letter from Ralph Beals, director of the New York Public Library. Mr. Pforzheimer's rare book and manuscript collection is one of the significant libraries of English literature in private hands. His collection of Shelley's writings is second only to that in the British Museum.

John Brownlee, Metropolitan Opera baritone, sang at the party, which followed a reception at the Horace Mann School in Riverdale, the Bronx, two days before, at which Mr. Pforzheimer, chairman of the school's administrative board and board of trustees for 30 years, was presented with an honorary diploma. He also became an honorary member of the school's alumni association. A special birthday edition of the school paper, *The Horace Mann Record*, was issued.

Mr. Pforzheimer has been chairman of many League Committees, among them the Committee on Organized Citizens' Participation in City Government, the Committee on A Model Municipal Indebtedness Law, and the Committee on A Model Municipal Budget Law. He has been a member of the advisory committee, Consultant Service, as well as a member of the National Finance Committee and the Executive Committee.

New Publications Get Favorable Comment

Three new League publications—*The Citizen Association* manuals and *A Model County and Municipal Bond Law*—have received favorable comment throughout the country from newspapers, magazines and national organization officers.

The *Citizen Association* manuals, published in November, were described by the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin:* "Summing up the experience in many communities that have won notable civic victories, these two booklets should bring a wealth of helpful suggestions to groups struggling for better government."

The *Chicago Daily News* wrote: "The National Municipal League, which in its 60 years has participated in many successful fights against entrenched political machines, has performed a notable public service in the publication of two manuals for citizens who are interested in getting better local government. . . . More than 30 active citizen groups over the country contributed facts and ideas aimed at making the pamphlets practical and effective civic tools. Leaders of better government movements in every community can use these manuals with profit."

Samuel A. Wright, director, American Unitarian Youth, wrote: "The efforts of the National Municipal League for better government through these manuals should be one of the best contributions for citizens who ask, 'What can I do?' in these days of tension and frustration."

"The National Municipal League has made a real contribution to better municipal government with these publications," said the *Passaic (N.J.) Herald-News.*

The *Model County and Municipal Bond Law,* released just before Chris mas, was circulated to many financi editors and various legal journals.

The *Wall Street Journal,* in intr ducing the bond law to its reade wrote: "Another step has been take to improve state laws dealing with th issuance of municipal bonds."

The *New York Times* described th issuing of the model law as "an attem to rationalize local government borro ing so as to end obsolete procedur and the abuses that have develope during the postwar binge of municip borrowing."

The *New York Law Journal* said th the "pocket-size pamphlet of scarce more than fifty pages, just published b the National Municipal League . . contains information of exception value to many county and municip organizations."

Shattuck in Germany

Henry L. Shattuck, Boston attorne and honorary vice president of th League, is serving as chairman of th Interim Mixed Parole and Clemenc Board for German War Criminals Bad Godesberg, Mehlam, German Mr. Shattuck is a former Council men ber, first vice president and acting pres dent in the 1940s when President Joh G. Winant was ambassador in Londo

League Staff Helps New Jersey Group

John Bebout, assistant director, an John Keith, senior associate, partic pated in a meeting of the Independen for Good Government, a Bergen Cou ty citizens group, at Tenafly, New Je sey, on February 10, to discuss an a tive program in local government fo the newly formed organization.

Bebout Advises Erie Group

Assistant Director John E. Bebout participated in a recent meeting at Erie, Pennsylvania, which considered the problems involved in obtaining legislation which would permit Erie and other cities of the third class in the state to adopt the council - manager form of government.

John E. Bebout

Called by the Erie Junior Chamber of Commerce, the conference included two other outside consultants, from the Institute of Local Government at Penn State University and the Pennsylvania Chamber of Commerce.

The State Chamber of Commerce and other civic groups have for many years been trying to get such legislation. These attempts have been blocked, however, by officials of cities of the third class. Erie has been one of the more active leaders in the drive to obtain council-manager government.

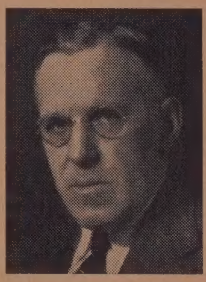
Alaska Calling

Victor Fischer, executive secretary of the League of Alaskan Cities, will be the League's first Alaskan correspondent. Mr. Fischer recently informed Elsie S. Parker, assistant editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, that he would submit news on nearly 30 cities in Alaska.

Mr. Fischer, who is also city planning director of Anchorage, paid a visit to the League offices last fall, during which he had extensive talks with all staff members. He was given pamphlets on council-manager government for use by Alaskan organizations.

Col. George H. McCaffrey Dies; Active in NML

Colonel George H. McCaffrey, a member of many League committees in the 20s and 30s, died in January. He was 63 years old and had served as a military government officer in Italy, Austria and Japan and later was assigned to the United Nations Civil Administration Commission for Korea.



George H. McCaffrey

Colonel McCaffrey, who lived in Montclair, New Jersey, was the first director of the Municipal Administration Service, which was operated in connection with the League's office for six and a half years. Committees on which he served included the Committee on Metropolitan Government (1924), the Committee on Non-voting in Municipalities (1924), the Committee on Organized Citizens' Participation in City Government (1929), and the Proportional Representation Committee in the 1930s.

While Colonel McCaffrey was military governor of Palermo, a Sicilian province, a bridge was named Ponte Caffreo in his honor.

Colonel McCaffrey served at various times as military governor of five Italian and Sicilian provinces. In John Hersey's *A Bell for Adano*, a novel of the conflicts between a military government officer and a combat general, Colonel McCaffrey figured as Colonel Sartorious.

All-America Cities

(Continued from page 116)

groes in Shreveport to view the event as televised over Station KSLA.

Port Angeles, Washington, received its award from League Regional Vice President Ben Ehrlichman of Seattle at a ceremony in the high school gymnasium on February 4. Governor Arthur B. Langlie spoke. Radio station KONP broadcast the proceedings. After the presentation a large meeting for leaders of all civic organizations and out-of-town guests was held in the Lee Hotel.

Visiting mayors from sixteen surrounding cities and guests and officials of the San Francisco Bay area comprised an audience of over 600 on February 5 at the largest luncheon ever held in Richmond, California, to witness the presentation of the city's All-America Award. Carleton Tibbetts, regional vice president of the League, and Jack Sayre, of *Look*, made the presentation to Dana Murdock, chairman of the Citizens Committee, and Mayor Ed J. J. McKeegan in Richmond's Memorial Auditorium. Thousands of "All-America City" window stickers were distributed. A sixteen-foot button and ribbon were displayed on city hall announcing the award.

In De Soto, Missouri, Mrs. Virgil Loeb, League Council member from St. Louis, presented the Award to Mayor Vernon Young at a banquet on February 20. Main speaker was Powell B. Heney, president of the General America Insurance Company. Simultaneously, the Union Electric Company awarded a prize of $1,000 in recognition of the city's Planned Progress Program.

Stories describing citizen efforts which netted the awards for the eleven winners appeared in the February REVIEW.

Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, of the League, presents Flint, Michigan, with its 1953 All-America Cities Award. Rev. Henry W. Berkemeier (left) and M. F. Borgman are the recipients.